

350111

JPRS 81963

12 October 1982

19981209
109

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2063

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release
Distribution Unlimited

Reproduced From
Best Available Copy

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
**NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE**
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

10
84
A05

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

12 October 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2063

CONTENTS**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Warsaw Pact Artillery Observation Vehicles Described (SOLDAT UND TECHNIK, Jul 82)	1
--	---

ALBANIA

Violations of Discipline Cause Economic Shortfalls (Ndue Gjoka; RRUGA E PARTISE, May 82)	8
---	---

Equality of Women not Yet Reality (Vito Kapo; RRUGA E PARTISE, May 82)	17
---	----

BULGARIA

General Calls for Better Coordination of Research, Field Training (Gen Dincho Velev; NARODNA ARMIYA, 11, 12 Aug 82)	27
---	----

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Questions on Military Schools Studies Answered (LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA, No 11, 1982)	33
--	----

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Effectiveness of Punishment in Criminal's Re-Education Disputed (IWE-TAGESDIENST, NEUE JUSTIZ, various dates)	37
--	----

West German Commentary GDR Criminologist's Critique, by Erich Buchholz	
---	--

HUNGARY

Theologian Notes New Development in Marxist-Christian Dialogue (Elemer Kocsis; VILAGOSSAG, Jul 82)	49
---	----

POLAND

Polish Youth Unions Issue Declaration on Beirut Massacre (SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 23 Sep 82)	58
Moscow Paper Interviews PZPR's Harazim (PZPR Interview; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 1 Sep 82)	59
'RAZEM' Discusses Need for Unity Among Youth Groups (Leszed Gontarski; RAZEM, 22 Aug 82)	64
Coverage of Youth Activity After Ninth Plenum Continued (SZTANDAR MLODYCH, various dates)	67
Scout Commander Interviewed, Andrzej Ornat Interview Young Warsaw Workers Polled SZSP Vice Chairman Interviewed, Ireneusz Nawrocki Interview	

ROMANIA

Ideas of Controversial Marxist Philosopher Reviewed (Mihai Milca; AMFITEATRU, May 82)	71
Aspirations, Realities of 'Social Catholicism' (Petru Berar; SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 2 Sep 82)	76

WARSAW PACT ARTILLERY OBSERVATION VEHICLES DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 25 No 7, Jul 82 pp 386-388

[Article signed 'r/c': "Artillery Observation Vehicles of the Warsaw Pact Armies--Continuous Adaptation to Weapons Development and Combat Conditions"]

[Text] In accordance with Soviet command and deployment principles, each of the battery units deploys an artillery command and observation vehicle. The battery commander with parts of the battery command group is usually positioned there, while the battery officer with the rest of the battery command group is at the firing position. Only in exceptional cases are additional forward or lateral observation posts established by the batteries. In addition, the senior artillery commanders establish their own command and observation posts at the centers of the attack or the defense. On all command levels the command and observation vehicles are located as close as possible to the command and observation vehicles of the commander of the combat troop unit they are supporting.

As late as into the first few years after the war the artillery command and observation posts still used trucks for mobility. After being dropped by the truck, the unit was deployed behind the last possible cover on foot. With the introduction of the BTR-152 armored personnel carrier at the end of the 1940's its open version, the BTR-152 V, was used in order to make the command and observation posts mobile. To be sure, it did not make them any more mobile in terrain, but when changing position it offered the soldiers more protection against the effects of enemy arms. The introduction of the amphibious wheeled combat vehicle BTR-60 with good cross-country performance brought considerable improvement. Of these the open version, BTR-60 P, was initially used as a vehicle for the command and observation post, at least by the Soviet Army. During an attack, in particular, the assignment of the command and observation post could be carried out directly from the vehicle (Figure 1). Cooperation of artillery with tank and motorized rifle units in mobile combat was considerably facilitated by these mobile command and observation posts.

According to a report which recently appeared in the National People's Army press, the BTR-60 PB version, which is enclosed, equipped with turret weapons and an NBC filter system, was later also used as a command and observation post. This variant, described by the National People's Army as ABS (artillery

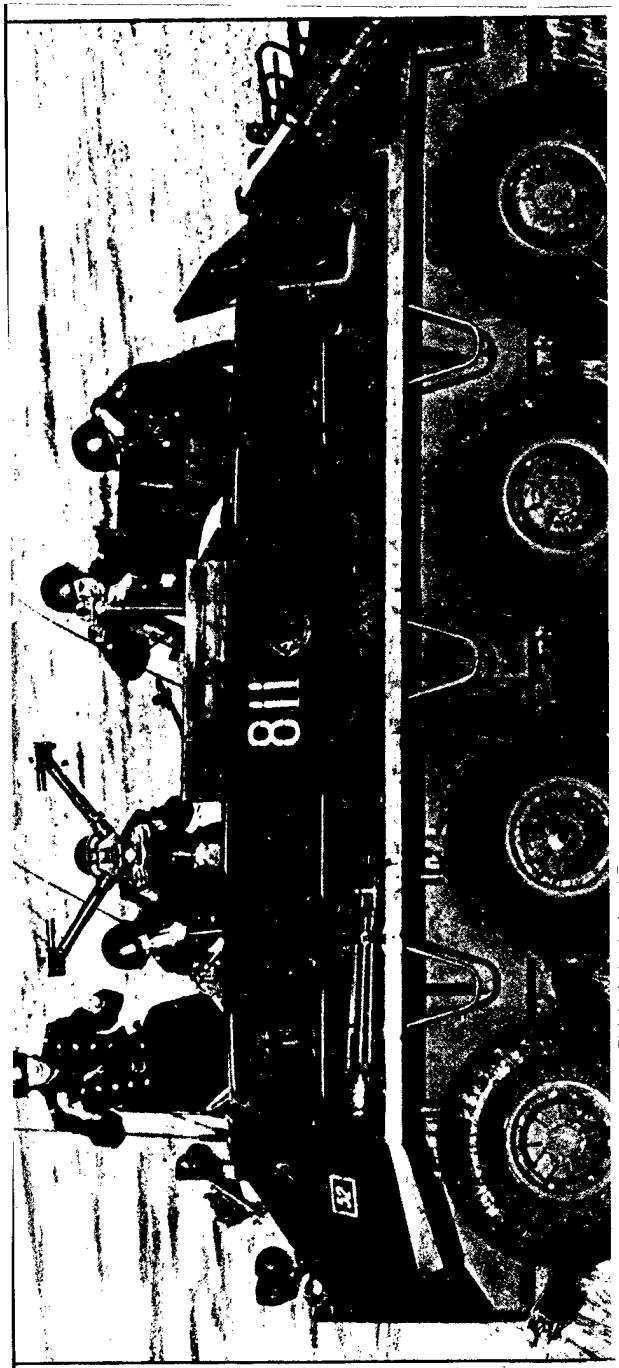


Figure 1. The BTR-60 P as command and observation vehicle with the pointing circle (right) and rangefinder (left).

observation post), can be recognized externally by its three whip antennae. (The combat version of the BTR-60 PB has only one antenna!) Furthermore, when in operation the PAB-2a¹ pointing circle protrudes from the left front hatch, and the OEM-2² rangefinder projects from the right front hatch. In the center of the vehicle is the work table for the commander of the artillery observation group (National People's Army: artillery reconnaissance group); an additional pull-out work table is mounted in front of the rear bench. At front left is the R-108 radio, with which contact is maintained with the firing position and with the artillery battalion command staff, as well as a remote control device. A dismounted battery commander can use the latter to join in the radio communications. At front right the R-123 radio is mounted, which is used to maintain contact with the supporting motorized rifle or tank units. The third antenna of the mobile command and observation vehicle probably belongs to the R-311 receiver, with which the general communications channel of the division can be received. The crew of a battery command and observation post consists of the battery commander, the reconnaissance group leader, two observers, two radio operators and the driver.

Meanwhile, the vehicle described by the National People's Army has been replaced by the reconnaissance variant of the M 1974 armored artillery command vehicle (ACRV)³, at least for the artillery units equipped with intermediate and heavy self-propelled howitzers. There are three different variants of this vehicle, which utilizes the running gear of the intermediate 122 mm M 1974 self-propelled howitzer:

--the battery fire control vehicle (Type I), which is used by the battery officer and the parts of the battery command group which remain at the firing position;

--the artillery observation vehicle (Type II), which serves both the battery commander and the commander of the artillery battalion as command and observation post, and

--the battalion fire control vehicle (Type III), from which the combined fire of all the batteries which are temporarily or permanently attached to the battalion can be directed.

The battery fire control vehicle and the artillery observation vehicle, that is to say Types I and II, can be externally recognized by the "bay window" which protrudes from the right side of the hull. They differ by the equipment of the revolving turret, however: While the turret of the battery fire control vehicle has only small periscope openings, conspicuous optical reconnaissance equipment, including possibly a laser rangefinder as well, is mounted on the right side of the turret on the artillery observation vehicle.

1. PAB = Periskopicheskaya Artilleriyskaya Bussol', meaning periscope artillery pointing circle.
2. OEM = Optical rangefinder (the use of a German designation indicates that this was developed entirely by the GDR).
3. ACRV = Artillery Command and Reconnaissance Vehicle.

Figures 2, 3, 4. (Captions on following page.)



PHOTO CAPTIONS

Figure 2. The BTR-60 PB (ABS) as command and observation post. At front right in the driving direction the rangefinder protruding from the hatch.

Figure 3. View of the front hatches of the BTR-60 PB (ABS) with the pointing circle (left) and rangefinder (right).

Figure 4. Work table in the interior of the BTR-60 PB (ABS).

In addition, the battery fire control vehicle is usually fitted with a 12.7 mm antiaircraft machine gun on the turret, while the observation vehicle only has mountings for a 7.62 mm weapon (Figures 5 and 6).

The battalion fire control vehicle (Type III) shows no "bay window" on the right side of the hull. It has a turret which corresponds to the one on the battery fire control vehicle and which can also hold a 12.7 mm antiaircraft machine gun. More (up to four) antennae are often mounted on its hull than on the other two artillery command vehicles (Figure 7, vehicle in the foreground).

In conclusion it can be stated that the command and observation vehicles of the artillery of the National People's Army land forces have been continuously adapted to the development of artillery weapons and to the combat requirements of the connected weapons under NBC conditions. While modified combat vehicles were largely used in the beginning, with the different variants of the M 1974 artillery command vehicle specialized vehicles have now been developed, which nevertheless have the same basic design and utilize existing basic assembly components.



5

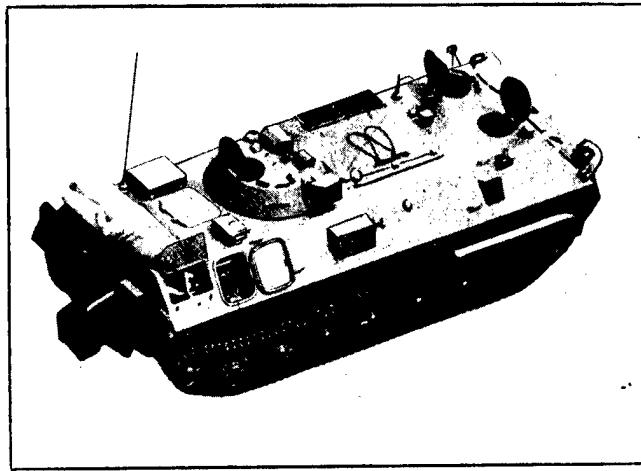


Figure 5. Battery fire control vehicle (Type I of the M 1974 ACRV). Note the "bay window," the periscope on the turret and the antiaircraft machine gun.

Figure 6. Artillery observation vehicle (Type II of the M 1974 ACRV). Note the "bay window" and the optical equipment on and by the turret.

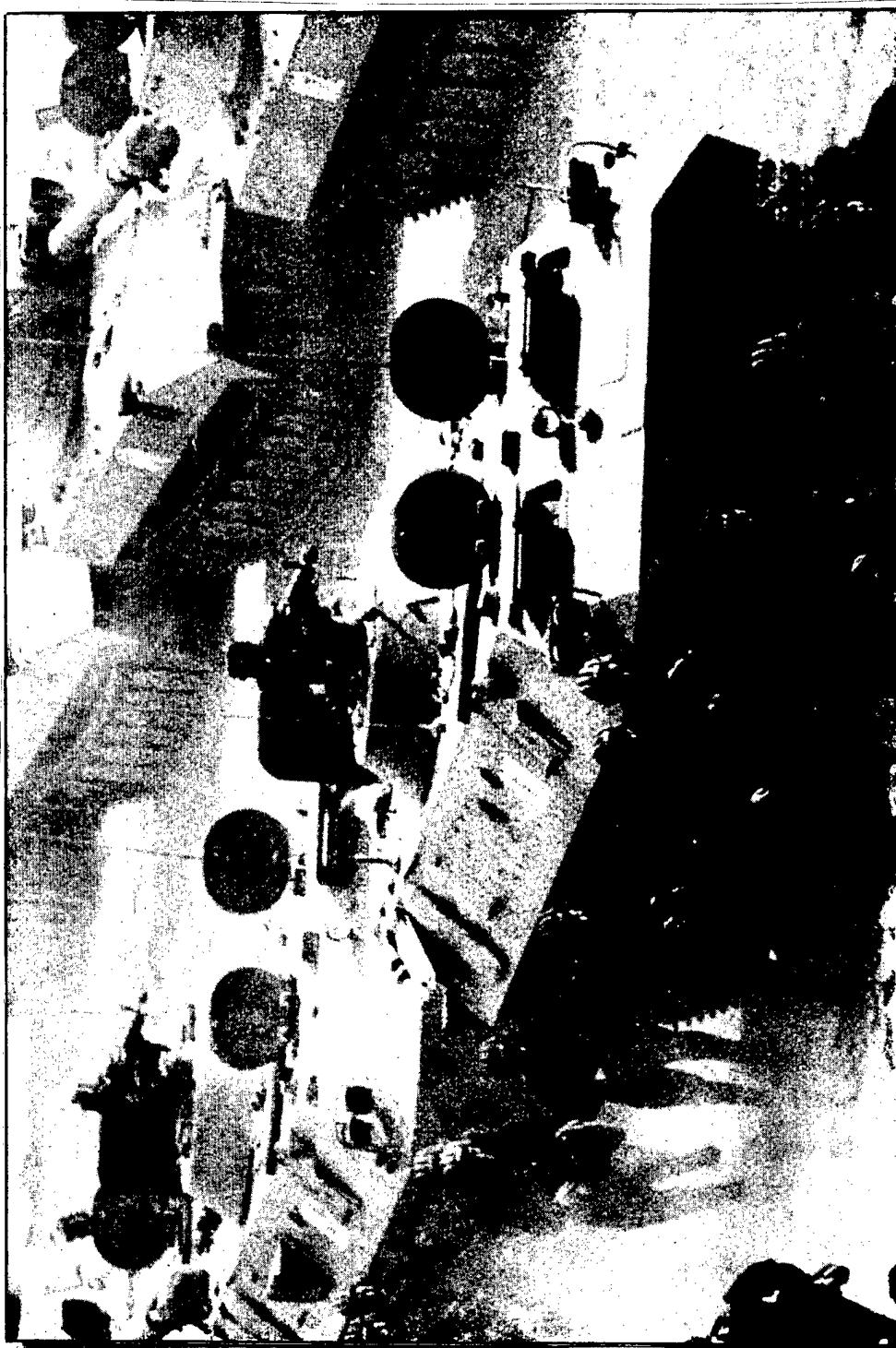


Figure 7. Battalion fire control vehicle (Type III of the M 1974 ACRV) in the foreground of the picture (without a "bay window"), behind it the battery fire control vehicle (Type I of the M 1974 ACRV).

11949
CSO: 2300/371

VIOLATIONS OF DISCIPLINE CAUSE ECONOMIC SHORTFALLS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian May 82 pp 36-44

[Article by Ndue Gjoka: "Proletarian Discipline at Work is Strengthened in the Struggle Against Liberalism and Other Foreign Manifestations]

[Text] As a result of the comprehensive work carried out in the past and at present by the party with the people and of the great progressive economic-social and conceptual changes, good concepts and solid convictions have generally been created for the establishment of a strong and conscientious discipline at work and everywhere. This fact is proven by the many successes which have been achieved in all sectors of our socialist life. The fulfillment of the main objectives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and of the many tasks of the current 5-year plan period, shows that our workers, armed with the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, are ever better struggling and working to know and execute the rules at work, to fulfill the state plan, and to create and correctly use social opinion against every attempt to violate the socialist laws and norms connected with this important activity of our people.

But, despite the successes achieved, the question of the strengthening of the work discipline and the struggle against its violations remains one of the main directions of the activity of the party organizations and of their links because it is directly related to the fulfillment of the tasks in every field, to the implementation of the party line and directives and to our progress.

The party has constantly drawn attention to the continual strengthening of discipline at work, to fight every foreign manifestation which harms it. But in the present conditions this problem has become more pressing and of special significance, because, as it was stressed at the Eighth Party Congress, the strengthening of discipline and the utilization of work time are concrete indicators of the formation of the socialist awareness of our people, constitute, among other things, an important reserve for the fulfillment of the plan tasks. The possibilities of consolidating the achievements and eliminating the shortcomings in this direction are many, but one must know them and use them effectively. The best way is to organize continuing and comprehensive activities for the political understanding of the socialist attitude toward work or the task, the discovery and the creative learning of all that is positive in this field, and to take measures in order to get to know all the party and state rules so that every worker will carry them out correctly and on time.

The strengthening of proletarian discipline at work, the knowledge of the party norms and state laws have, themselves, political, moral and social value and are directly connected to the ideological and political formation of the people, to the level of their awareness to their trust in socialism. The overall activity of the party and its levers must take this demand into consideration, because our people, the communists, the cadres and the masses, act in life in the same way in which they think; reflect at work, in school, in military training and everywhere those concepts and outlooks which they possess. Practice shows that, where the clarifying work with the people is constant, concrete and convincing, in accordance with their ideological and educational level, appropriate to the age of the workers and the nature of work, the work discipline there is better, and there is effective organization and control over the implementation of the tasks. On the other hand, when the problem of discipline is not treated properly, when there is superficiality, globalism, formalism and so forth, alien concepts toward work discipline are manifested, expressions of liberalism and indifference exist, shortcomings in work can be found, the tasks are not fulfilled and products of poor quality are manufactured. It is therefore necessary to strengthen the content of the educational work, to perfect its forms so as to create among our people healthy convictions for a conscientious, enlightened discipline.

Conscientious discipline represents one of the characteristics which distinguishes our socialist order from the bourgeois-revisionist one. In the countries ruled by the old and new bourgeoisie due to the existence of private property or of state capitalist ownership, work is not merely a living but also an exploiting source. The ruling classes, through all the power in their hands, by perfecting the means and forms of exploitation to raise their profits, try to transform the workers into machines, by draining more and more their mental and physical capabilities. It is precisely this desolate situation which causes them to strike and revolt against the masters of the exploiting system.

A different reality exists in our country. Our workers, masters of the country and of the means of production, are generally aware that they work for themselves and their family; they have, at the same time, created convictions that their work is valuable to them and to the society and to the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the homeland; and, as a result, they also consider the work a duty. We must further deepen this conviction in the outlook of everyone because the tasks confronting us and which must be solved correctly and on time are ever greater and more complicated.

In our socialist country, a social basis which gives birth to and implements concepts and practices different from those required by the proletarian discipline at work, does not exist. But how does one explain that, among some people and work collectives, foreign manifestations and influences occur which, if not fought, violate our discipline?

There are a number of objective factors and more subjective factors which exert influence in this direction. We have, in fact, established the dictatorship of the proletariat and are successfully building the socialist society, but socialism as the first phase of the communist society which emerges from the exploiting capitalist order, Comrade Enver Hoxha reminds us, possesses its own conditions and characteristics of development which also leave their impact on the

attitude toward the people. In addition, socialism in Albania is built under other specific conditions and circumstances which must be taken into consideration. Our country, the party teaches us, is the sole socialist country in the world surrounded by fierce class and national enemies, and this encirclement is not only real but also active. They, together with the internal enemies, exert comprehensive pressure and diversion, try, by all ways and means, to break the resistance and the struggle which our people wage to defend the political, economic, ideological and cultural freedom, to defend independence, sovereignty and socialism. This reality must be well understood so as to take concrete measures to continually raise the revolutionary vigilance. Under these circumstances, as in the past too, the party expects from all a high sense of responsibility and conscientious discipline for everything, at work and everywhere. "Our historic, national, international task--Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us--for all to stand up, to be vigilant and ready, in order to face all situations, to defend the victories attained and to further promote all situations, to defend the victories attained and to further promote the revolution and our socialist construction. We must oppose the diversion of the socialist enemies through our determination and daring, through the steel-like unity of the party and the people, and through the tireless work for the development and strengthening of the economy and the defense of the country" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the AWP, pp 108-109).

The successful confrontation of the great tasks which we must fulfill requires, within the complex of objectives established for the education of our people, careful work for all to have the truest and fullest possible impression of proletarian discipline, to understand it thoroughly. This is dictated by the fact that some workers maintain, at times, a very narrow and formal attitude toward this issue. Here and there, discipline is reduced only to the question of work schedule, thinking in a narrow manner, that the "people are doing fine," only because they adhere to the work schedule, that it is enough for them to be at work 8 hours, without bothering to ask how they work, what they produce, about the yields, the quality of products and so forth. This superficial way of thinking enables the misuse of work time, unjustifiably wasting work time, and so forth. Lack of discipline is noted more among some young workers who have not yet formed a good socialist, work, and duty consciousness. The party organizations and its levers, the communists and the cadres and the entire social opinion must work tactfully and patiently to properly prepare the new generation for work, and to cultivate not only love of work but, also, a passion for work and study and to work everywhere in a cultured and scientific manner. We must fight spontaneity in this direction, indifference and permissiveness, and the concepts of those who think mistakenly that "they are young and will eventually mature."

There are shortcomings also concerning discipline in the practical sphere of activity of our people. Therefore, parallel to the necessary understanding of work time, we must show special attention to the way the workers use the technical means for the fulfillment of the plan, such as lathes, tractors, machines and other equipments. Regardless of the progress made in this field, the time, the tasks and the capacities require greater attention from the communists, the basic organizations and the workers themselves, from the social organizations so as to use skillfully all the means in order to achieve a higher production

yield by carrying out the technological rules which are acquired through continuing studies for ideopolitical and technical-professional advancement. Because it is the desire of our people and the objective of the party is to increase production as much as possible, to raise and to lower its cost. But "In order to have more--Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us--one must also produce more, good, attractive and cheap goods, one must work well, be disciplined at work, possess a technical education, work 8 hours, or sometimes even longer, produce, on time, the established varieties of good quality goods" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, p 287). A unified examination of proletarian discipline in all aspects, such as, among other things, the attitude toward work, the task, the worktime and the quantitative and qualitative indicators of material production, reflects the political awareness of our people, their communist formation.

But the socialist attitude of our people toward work does not include only the sectors of material production. It must be seen in a wider perspective because work is performed not only in the factory and cooperative but, also, in the office, school, in military training, in the scientific-cultural institutions, everywhere. Therefore, some foreign manifestations which are noted in these nonproductive sectors, be it through the violation of the work schedule, of its program and so forth, must be fought resolutely, because it prevents marching with the times, and the danger arises that some workers of these sectors may become carriers of two great evils, liberalism and bureaucracy.

Discipline is violated in some cases because not all of our people feel the necessary responsibility for it. The forming of a healthy discipline for work must be well understood and must be transformed into an education by all. The creation of just and strong convictions that proletarian discipline must exist and must be respected by all, be he a simple worker or manager, is important in order to fight those concepts and foreign attitudes noted in practice in some worker, cadre and including some special sectors, which, by speculating with their "special" task, with the "nature of work," with the "specialty" of one or the other, sometimes misuse the worktime, thus negatively influencing the fulfillment of the production plan or of the mission in various fields of life. The low effectiveness of organizational and management work in some institutions and administrative apparatuses, and in some sectors of the scientific-research work, culture and education, health, among trade workers, and so forth.

The strengthening of the conscientious work discipline in some cases is also hindered by the harmful concept "we have time." It is mistaken from the theoretical-philosophical point of view, and is of harmful consequences from the economic-organizational point of view. From the theoretical-philosophical point of view, time, as it is known, has an objective existence, emerges and marches always forward. This does not depend on us. But effective organizational and implementational work depends on us very much. We must plan it well, we must value it as the saying goes, like gold, we must "fill" the entire time with work, by utilizing well and to the maximum every hour, every day and every month, and so forth, otherwise deadlines are violated, objectives are not fulfilled in the required quantity and quality, backwardness is created, tomorrow's tasks are replaced by today's and consequently are late, in order to

overcome backwardness, exertions are made which have unavoidable negative consequences in the quality of production and so forth. Through its misuse, things go so far that violations occur in the technical-scientific and financial discipline, followed by nonfulfillment of the plan, the breaking of rules in work and production, at a time when tasks increase and the demands grow.

Serious problems have arisen in connection with the organization and management of tasks, and, as a result, the party during the past few years and at its Eighth Congress, had made a special point and has issued clear and concrete guidelines, especially for the development of the economy on a scientific basis. The issue, therefore, has been and remains for all the citizens of our country to understand in principle and carry out in principle the fact that our progress depends, above all, on the growth and quality of production, a demand which is closely connected with the scientific organization and management of work, with the constant raising of the ideopolitical and technical-professional level of all of our people, so that they will consider it as a duty to give the utmost of their physical and mental abilities and to become fully aware that they are meeting all the established tasks in terms of quantity, time, assortment and the necessary quality. Decisive for all these is organization, in all aspects of life and of work, and the comprehensive molding of the people to conscientiously fulfill all the tasks. "The communist organization of social work, the first step of which is socialism--Lenin teaches us--will depend on how much we develop the free and conscientious discipline of the workers themselves" (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 29, p 465).

There are also shortcomings in the strengthening of discipline because not all people fully understand the role of the organization of work and the fact that proletarian discipline and organization are closely related. The correct organization and management of work become important factors to consolidate and develop discipline in its entire complex as a work, technical scientific and plan discipline. The experience of our life, the endeavors of the communists, of the workers and of the cadres of a number of economic enterprises and of vanguard agricultural cooperatives of the country, such as that of the "Steel of the Party" combine in Elbasan, of the "Enver Hoxha" auto-tractor combine, of the Valias coal-mine in Tirana, of other mines in Mborje-Drenove, Alarup, Memaliaj, Kacinar, of the construction enterprise in Mat, of the Maliq NB [agricultural enterprise] and of the Vrina agricultural enterprise in Sarande, and of the "29 nendori" NB in Lushnje, of the Plase agricultural cooperatives in Lorce, of the Dajci cooperative in Shkoder, of the Cakran Fier, of the "Myslim Peza" cooperative in Tirana and so forth, shows that, in the successes in the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of the plan, among others, the organization of work and the consolidation of the proletarian discipline have had the greatest impact. Moreover, these factors have helped overcome backwardness and place on the right track also some other important enterprises such as the PVC plant in Vlore, the ferro-chrome plant in Burrel, and so forth.

In the ferro-chrome plant last year, the many absences from work on the part of some workers and irregular organization of work by the economic managers, have caused the nonfulfillment of the norms and, as a consequence, nonfulfillment of the plan in some indicators. Now the situation has changed. The raising of the level of educational work with the people, accompanied also with various

technical-organizational measures, efforts to introduce the expansion of science and of progressive technology in production, brought about, as a result, the fuller and better utilization of worktime, the increase of the level of norm setting and the improvement of the existing technological processes, especially in the smelting furnaces, and as a result, the necessary parameters were attained, the plan was fulfilled and the plant joined the ranks of progressive enterprise.

These and other facts show that, in the organization of work, a special role is played by production managers. Their fine work, the personal example in carrying out the tasks, strengthen proletarian discipline, increase the mobilization of the workers to follow their example. Experience also shows that their activity is effective when they carry out a scientific and well-conceived work for the execution of directives which are related to the respective sectors, when implementation is based on the knowledge and correct utilization of the objective and subjective factors, on the laws of our socialist development. On the other hand, when there is poor organization, the result is irregularities, failure to utilize effectively the abilities of the people and the means of work, this leads to liberalism and distortions, and, as a consequence, nonfulfillment, on time and with quality, of the tasks, and sometimes even worse, violation of discipline, including mistakes and faults which are contrary to the laws of the state and to our morality, and which are punished by the socialist law.

In some cases, the consolidation of discipline at work is hindered by the lack of proper accountability and of the exercise of a regular control for the implementation of tasks by the managers of the economy and of the government and by the basic party organizations. There are improvements in these directions, but one must insist that this task be better carried out, because here and there, as the party pointed out at its Eighth Congress, "there continue to be liberal manifestations and sentimental attitudes, justifications, there are expressions of underestimation of control, there is formalism and superficiality in its execution (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the AWP," p 79). Due to improper evaluation of this norm, as well as organizational failures by those who apply it, especially by the appropriate and specialized organs, it happens that no control is applied in regard to the main problems and, in regard to secondary questions, the control is not applied in depth to the substance of issues which are related to the quantity and quality of production, to the expenditures, to the productivity and the manner of their management and organization, to how the tasks are carried out not only by the average worker, but also by the cadres, the norm setter, the quality controller, the inspector or the foreman, how much accountability they demand from the people for work, quality, assortment of products, cost and so forth.

Control, the party teaches us, must be comprehensive, from above, from below and parallel, and, above all, it must be effective, must leave its mark, must be complete. It is necessary for these demands to be properly taken into consideration by the organs of the party, and of the state, by the workers and peasant control groups, as well as by mutual social control among workers for the implementation of the demands of discipline just as for everything else. For the consolidation of discipline in all of its aspects, it is also important

to develop criticism and self-criticism against manifestations of liberalism and other foreign influences, to compare the best results realized in the collective of the brigade, of the team, of the sector, of the shift, as well as to create a militant atmosphere against the repeaters and against those who deliberately violate discipline. The general analyses regarding this issue are strongly effective for the education of the people, because criticism of the disciplinary shortcomings of everyone also becomes a lesson for the others.

Undoubtedly, the main way to fight everything which hinders the creation of strong convictions for the establishment of a conscientious discipline in our socialist order is the Marxist-Leninist education of the people, the continuous work of the party organs and organizations, of the state organs to arm our workers with the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha. And, in this complex action, priority must be given to the activities to familiarize oneself with the laws of the state in general and, in particular, with labor legislation because they express, in a synthesized manner, the economic line and policy of the party and its directives. All the people must know and carry out the state laws. The party has constantly recommended, and reiterated again at its Eighth Party Congress, that every workers must know, especially, those laws which teach him to carry out properly and in an orderly manner the task that the plan be fulfilled in all indicators, to enable oneself to protect and administer socialist property, and to consolidate order and discipline at work. This education must be carried out not only continuously and through suitable forms, but also concretely and in an organized manner, by connecting it with the work, discipline, and concerns of the workers, and the situations which we are facing.

Of course, in our country, priority is given in educational work to enlightening the people, to the "prophylactic" aspect, so that they will get a good knowledge of the norms of the party and the laws of the state, so that they will not make mistakes or commit transgressions. However, the administrative and state measures also have an educational character in conformity with the laws in power, for those persons who violate the disciplinary rules at work, who take leave from work without permission and waste worktime, when the educational work with them has ended, when the advice to correct themselves has not had the required effect.

This question must be properly taken into consideration, because the failure to implement the laws in regard to these people, the liberal stands of some collectives and managers toward the undisciplined persons and offenders have a negative influence on the other workers, too, as regards their molding in the norms of our socialist morality as well as in the cultivation of an ever-greater concern for the fulfillment of the plan or of the work tasks. These incorrect attitudes of these certain individuals must be opposed because behind them hide idle persons, parasites and undisciplined persons.

The manifestations of liberalism and of other foreign influences in the field of discipline and of laws which are connected with work in various sectors of our life, have their source, among other things, in the inadequate understanding by some people of the relationship between the various rights and liberties which our socialist state guarantees to the individual, on the one hand, and

the duties and of the demands of discipline and of the state laws, on the other hand. By speculating with the rights and liberties which the workers in our country enjoy, these people, unformed from the ideopolitical and juridical point of view, violate the rules of discipline, believe that their freedoms may be "unlimited" and only "personal," that allegedly the freedom is a freedom simply of the "individual" and has nothing to do with the state and the society, with the general interest. This type of anarchist and liberal concept regarding freedom, discipline and democracy is cultivated by the class enemy, too. He is very much interested and, when he finds a favorable territory, acts to create confusion in the minds of the people in order to detach them from the heat of struggle and work so as to overcome the difficulties and the fulfillment of tasks on time and with good quality in order to undermine the development of the socialist economy and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As always, it is our duty to forge revolutionary vigilance to uncover and deal heavy blows to the hostile actions of the enemy, and the concepts of some of our people who mistakenly think that now that we live in a democracy, they have only rights and no duties, they can go about and work as it suits them, and to violate, albeit unintentionally, work discipline and social discipline, the laws of the state and the norms of the society. These attitudes, be they the results of the influences of the activity of the enemies, or of the mistaken concepts of our people, are very harmful and, therefore, must be exposed and fought resolutely, because they are foreign to the principles of socialism.

Through the comprehensive activity of the party and of its levers, it is necessary to explain and to make it clear that the freedom of the people in socialism, their true equality are complete and inviolable by anyone, but they can never be "unlimited" or "absolute." This kind of understanding of freedom would open the road to distraction and liberalism. Freedom and democracy concerning various issues and, in this regard also, those dealing with work in socialism, have a class character. They are used by the individual to the extent that they do not transgress the interests of the working class and of socialism, when they do not violate the laws and social norms of the socialist system, when they do not come in conflict with proletarian discipline, therefore, they must be known and carried out in a dialectical manner and in unity with state discipline. The respect for the demands of discipline at work, in the office, in school, in military training and so forth, not only does not limit these freedoms but it provides the possibility of further development because it helps our people to become able to know and carry out the tasks in a scientific manner, to form a healthy socialist character able to maintain the necessary attitude toward the laws of nature, toward the laws of the development of society, toward the society itself.

The healthy proletarian spirit, the continuous and conscientious education about work and socialist discipline which is instilled in the individual by our party, penetrates through the consolidation of the educational work for knowing and conscientiously carrying out the tasks, as well as through the class struggle against foreign bourgeois and petit-bourgeois influences, of the past and of the present, against individualism, liberalism and any other foreign manifestation which hinders our progress. The problem is to consolidate the content of the general work of the party and of its levers so that all the citizens of the republic, communists and workers, understand well that they have an

important place in the work and struggle front and have concrete tasks to implement correctly, conscientiously and through proletarian discipline. Their timely and qualitative fulfillment in all sectors of life is the indicator of the communist formation of our people, it expresses in practice the degree of the formation of the convictions which they have for socialism, for the vitality of this order, their readiness to defend the country from any type of aggression, so that revolution in our country can march always forward.

5112
COS: 2100/78

EQUALITY OF WOMEN NOT YET REALITY

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian May 82 pp 26-35

[Article by Vito Kapo: "The Alleviation of Women's Position in the Family Serves Her Further Emancipation"]

[Text] The party's educational work and our socialist reality have helped us to feel and see closely that interrelationship which exists between the construction of socialism and the level of the emancipation of women. The ever-increasing great successes which are being attained in all the fields of our socialist construction can, in no way, be conceived without the physical and mental contribution of the masses of working, cooperativist and intellectual women. The Albanian woman also militates as a worthy member of the society, she is living increasingly better with the problems which preoccupy the country, the work centers, the family and social environment, and she contributes qualitatively and quantitatively to the correct solution of problems.

They reveal their stature as builders and active defenders of socialism through that resolute struggle which they carry out for the implementation and defense of the party line in the entire life of the country, in the class-revolutionary attitudes which they maintain in production and social work and in family life.

Aware of the contribution of the woman, a contribution which has proceeded parallel with the level of the development of the entire society, the party, at its Eighth Congress, called upon its organs and organizations to continue struggling "to resolutely implement its program for the complete emancipation of the Albanian woman, without which socialism is meaningless and its construction cannot proceed" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the AWO," p 103).

Although colossal changes have taken place in the life of the Albanian woman, the party and the masses of women united in their organization of the Albanian women's union are aware that the field of the struggle for the emancipation of women remains open and that, in the entire work which is required for its further emancipation, for this level of development of the women herself and of the process of our socialist construction, or primary importance is the achievement of complete equality between women and men, not only in the political field and in the sphere of production, in which, as a whole, this equality has been attained, but also, in the educational, cultural and technical vocational

realm in which there continues to be considerable inequality. Although, for example, in Korce District, the working women comprise approximately half of the workers of the economic enterprises, they make up only 20 percent of those which are occupied with the drafting and execution of scientific themes. Inequalities between women and men can also be found in other districts, also for education and culture indicators.

Why has this problem become so pressing today, why is it being given priority among all the tasks arising for the further advancement of the work of the party and of our entire socialist society for the further emancipation of the masses of women?

This priority is the outgrowth of that emphasized qualitative character arising from the tasks set by the Eighth Party Congress, the fulfillment of which requires, more than ever, educated people, with a broad horizon, with a high theoretical and practical training, able to work, manage and organize work in a scientific manner and to launch the technical-scientific revolution. These demands are for the entire society, therefore, also for the masses of women of our country who should be aware of the fact that, without fulfilling these demands of the present period of socialist construction, their objectives cannot be attained and, as a result, those social and material premises cannot be created which further advance the process of the emancipation of women, their equality with men in the educational, cultural, and technical-professional level.

Among all the factors which ensure this type of equality, the education of girls and women occupies a special place. Despite the high percentage of girls who pursue middle and higher education, 52 and 50 percent of the schoolchildren and of the students, which reflects a growing tendency toward the narrowing down of the differences in education between men and women, the educational level of working and cooperativist women is still relatively lower than that of the men. Although working women constitute a greater percentage of the workers, especially in some sectors, such as those of light industry and the food industry, of the construction and communal services industry, the majority of them have only an 8-year education. The same can be said about the village women who, although they constitute 48 percent of the village workers, the number of those which have technical and vocational training is still small, especially in the districts of Gramsh, Kukes, Mat, Mirdite, Puke, Shkoder and so forth.

As is known, it is not possible to overcome this relatively backward situation through the efforts of the women alone or through the efforts of their Albanian women's union organization. Nor can the raising of the educational, cultural and technical vocational level of the women be understood simply as an educational process. The party Central Committee has assigned the task to the party organs and basic party organizations, to their links in the districts and at the grass roots level, to deepen the convictions of the women themselves and the men and the entire society that, without the complete emancipation of women, the emancipation of the entire society cannot be achieved and the construction and development of socialism cannot be understood.

This type of conviction creates a healthy social opinion, within and outside the family, which thinks and works so as to help the women to have more free time and to better utilize it in order to attend courses and schools, to raise their cultural and technical-vocational level, to occupy themselves with scientific research activities and to also make a contribution as social activists.

In which directions can a greater contribution be made?

THE SOCIETY CAN AND MUST FURTHER HELP THE WOMAN IN THE FAMILY

The liberation from or the relieving of the woman of some family chores which consume a great part of her free time can be achieved, in the same manner as before, both through a better involvement of all the members of the family and through the distribution of some work categories which, because of their nature, are done mainly by women.

By stressing the necessity of better combining these two ways, more can be done in the future, especially as regards the second category. This is because an economic-organizational problem is easier solved than a conceptual problem. Our reality is such that the woman, although in our socialist society she is as active as the man, within the family, the institution with complex relations and tasks, she adjusts more slowly to socialist transformations and still feels the greater burden of tasks and duties, which, in part, is related to her motherly role and, in part, is the result of those times when, in the family, the husband and the men in general made the law.

The giving of priority to the second aspect, the distribution of some work categories in the family, is explained also by the fact that, in the social services sectors, the largest part of the workers are girls and women who can be of greater influence not only in expanding and improving these types of services but, also, in bringing them closer to the family, somethin in which they themselves are directly interested.

The best measures which have been carried out in some types of services and the better work which is generally carried out in some districts proves that the possibilities have been created to further help the woman, in the capacity of mother too, as a result of the expansion of the net of services. During the previous 5-year plan period, in our country the communal services, for example, expanded considerably. Proof of this is also the fact that, in 1980, in comparison to 1975, the volume of alteration and repair works increased by 10.3 percent, tailoring and dressmaking activity increased by 29.8 percent, and so forth. Today, through the further expansion of communal services, in some districts, such as the districts of Tirana, Durres, Shkoder, and so forth, up to 100-110 types of services are carried out which considerably reduce the work of the woman in the family. But, at the same time, it must be admitted that, in some districts, and especially in the village, these types of services are still rare and considerable effort and time is required by the family to carry them out. The possibilities exist therefore to increase the number of those kinds of services which can be carried out at home, but also to shorten the time it takes to execute them. That type of service which sometimes takes

entire hours and days does not serve the family but, on the contrary, it hinders it, at a time when possibilities exist through a better organization of work, through the securing of materials on time and through a more skilled effort of the workers and of the specialists, to complete the job faster.

The Eighth Party Congress drew special attention to the expansion and improvement of the services of the communal sector in the village, by aiming to increase their volume by 80-84 percent during the Seventh 5-year plan. The women's organizations in the agricultural cooperatives, by coordinating their forces with the people's councils of the villages and with the organizations of the Democratic front, should make efforts for the improvement and expansion of communal services in order to raise the effective participation in work of the cooperativists, by proving this in this case too that the perfecting of relations better harmonizes the interests.

Problems of this nature must be solved also by our health and trade services as well as by a number of sectors of light industry and the food industry. If the possibilities created have not been fully utilized everywhere, the women and their women's union organizations are partially responsible. It does not make sense that in every meeting, inquiry or inspection which is organized for the service sectors, the women, while they correctly raise a great number of problems and make a series of criticisms, fail to take into consideration the fact that they, themselves, and their comrades work in those sectors, interested parties who possess or can create the possibilities for putting into practice that which they want and which can be achieved.

This contradiction between that which is sought and that which is carried out, proves that there is still an unclear understanding about the relationship between the rights and the duties on the part of women. Socialism creates, continually, the social and material premises for the further emancipation of women as a result of the ever-greater work carried out in our country by the entire society under the leadership of the party and according to the teachings of the party for the socialist construction of the country. Without the fulfillment of the economic plans, without taking concrete steps which realistically permit women to be equal to men in the educational, cultural and technical-professional fields, no concrete steps can be taken for the further emancipation of women. If we raise issues and make suggestions to improve the services on the part of the workers of light industry and the food industry, of the trade, health and communal industries, we must first expect this from ourselves because in these institutions women make up 55 to 70 percent of the workers.

It is true that in the economic enterprises of these sectors there are also trade union organizations, directorates and other party levers, but they have denied the women of these enterprises the right to bring up the problems personally or through the women's councils in the trade union organization and in the directorates and fight for their solution. If each one of the women who works in those enterprises which produce prepared baby foods or textiles, or where trade is carried out or the people are served, better understands the position of the consumer or of the citizen and always keeps in mind the question "what should I do to better serve myself and my comrades in order to free

myself and my comrades of heavy housework and to allow myself and my comrades more free time for study, relaxation and recreation," she undoubtedly will also become an initiator for the expansion of the range of products and of services and for the continuous improvement of their quality. If everyone performed her job in such a responsible manner, then more necessary articles would have been produced and the services would have been of greater use to the family.

The plenum of the Albanian Women's Union which was held in January of this year to establish the tasks of the women's union organization to implement the program of the party concerning the full emancipation of the Albanian woman, demanded among other things that the female workers, technicians, economists and engineers who work in the service sectors and in other sectors, speak openly about the problems of production and of services, be innovative, make improvements for the expansion of products and services, and influence the comrades at work to greatly expand creative thinking in freeing the members of the family from heavy work which generally continues to burden women.

When we talk about the premises which socialism continually creates for the further emancipation of women, we have in mind those new creative possibilities which are created in the sectors of light industry and the food industry to increase the range and the quality of children's clothing and clothing for men and women, and to ensure that these clothes are of better quality, attractive and cheaper, for work, home and for holidays, for the village and the city, and those possibilities created by the increase of production in agriculture and the food industry in order to broaden the range of canned food, such as processed vegetables, juices, meat, fish, sauces, mayonnaise and even pastries, baked products and other items necessary for the daily life and for festive occasions which save considerable time for women when they do not have to be prepared at home.

Today there are more practical possibilities which, through a greater attention by the design bureaus and institutions, public opinion can use more extensively in examining the problem of construction in their entirely, such as their external features, the demands arising in connection with the raising and educating of children, the establishment of shops as close as possible to the homes and taking into consideration in designing the apartment buildings the movement of the inhabitants from one room to another. The creative thinking of the workers and of the specialists in furniture enterprises must also have the same objective, and they must pay greater attention to the requests and the complaints against the manufacture of standard furniture, replacing them with the kind which is appropriate to the conditions and practical capacities of the apartments.

When we talk about the new premises for facilitating work, we have in mind also those great capacities which the trade workers possess, the majority of whom are women, and who should make greater efforts to find solutions to the suggestions made regarding the increase in the number of packaged products, asking the workers in agriculture to clean the vegetables in the fields before shipping them to warehouses, expanding the experience gained in the beaches during the summer season in the distribution of some products to the families, and so forth.

We have dealt more with subjective factors which will contribute to the solving of these problems which have to do with the easing of the burden of the women from some house chores because of the availability of funds and of material possibilities. They increase along with the strengthening of our entire socialist economy and the expansion of the material base of the service sectors. The experience of the most outstanding sectors and of enterprises shows that, if one proceeds with studies, if there is more imagination and one is familiar with the demands of the family members, the services can be expanded and further improved both in the city and the village. In the creation and maintenance of these services, their profitability will, of course, also be taken into consideration but, in the preliminary calculation of the profitability of the sector to be opened or to be expanded, we believe that it is necessary to take into consideration a number of factors of current and long-range value, avoiding short cuts or the matter-of-fact statement "it is not profitable," an opinion which is frequently heard when trying to avoid headaches associated with a new activity. The organization of public catering services is very effective as has been shown in the city of Korce where, in almost all residential buildings, kitchens have been set up to prepare prepared or semiprepared food products to help families. It is these types of services which lighten the work of the family, its members, especially the women, and which serve the purpose for which they have been set up.

By showing direct interest in the production and service activities which are of help to the family in its daily activity, the women can and should further encourage the expansion and better organization of these types of activities. The women's union councils in the services sector should become initiators in the expansion of fast, good, inexpensive and cultured services.

It is known that the systematic and educational work in these sectors too, as in all work centers, is carried out by the trade union organizations under the leadership of the party. The women's councils help solve this problem correctly when they raise issues; make suggestions; and, in cooperation with the trade unions, organize public investigations to see how the women and all the workers of the sector are responding to the demands of the times.

In this direction, an important role must be played by the Women's Union organization in the city sectors and in the villages. They must be familiar with the demands of their members, and they must show interest in the facilities which can be assured them by the service units in the city sectors and in the villages. In cooperation with the Front organizations and with the people's councils, they must help to ensure that work proceeds properly in them, they must make suggestions and raise issues to the respective organs.

AN IMPERATIVE TASK FOR THE WOMEN AND THE ENTIRE FAMILY

The family must pay greater attention to providing women with the time needed to raise their educational, cultural and technical-professional level. The social services, with which we dealt above, despite their value, would be inadequate if all the family members do not contribute to providing the mother,

sister or the young woman with the time required to study, do homework, participate in cultural and social activities, follow, like all the others, radio and television programs, and to relax and have fun.

In this field of relations, an entire revolution has taken place in our country, but one which cannot be considered completed. The continued victories in this field require, as the party teaches us, a greater struggle "against all the foreign manifestations and backward customs which continue to be manifested in various forms and on various occasions and which violate the dignity and personality of the woman" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the AWP," pp 103-104).

The creation for women of the necessary time to raise their educational, cultural and technical-professional level, and the maximum reduction of the existing inequalities with men, is not possible if some old norms of the organization of work and of life within family are not eliminated. Parallel to the emancipation of the entire society, the members of the family spend part of their free time in educational and cultural institutions, in libraries, in cultural centers, in sports fields, in theaters and movie theaters, in walks and social visits. Although the major part of the time spent in these types of activities has been steadily increasing, most of the free time is, nevertheless, spent at home. This ratio is more unfavorable for women and girls especially. They need more time to meet every day all the needs of the members of the family, they must care for the feeding, health and education of the children, they must care for the environment where they live, they must play host to friends and comrades, and so forth.

The correction of this situation, providing the woman with more free time and its use for the education and their cultured fulfillment, constitute an imperative task not only for the women themselves but, also, for the other members of their families.

Of course, this correction is not simply a question of desire. The old, conservative and patriarchal norms, concepts and customs which keep the girls and, still more, the women tied down with housework, and which the party once again cited at the Eighth Party Congress, "continues to resist, although the conditions which have been created have changed." Aware of this change, but not abandoning their habits, the patriarchal and petit-bourgeois elements try to keep alive those norms and old customs by giving them "new labels," by camouflaging them with socialist norms. Often, newlyweds fall in these mistaken positions and, by keeping to old customs, do not realize that they lower the dignity and personality of their wives whom, in general, they respect. These are the reasons why, in family life, despite its steady revolutionization, in some families, a number of patriarchal and petit-bourgeois concepts exist which do not consider legitimate the demand and the right of the woman or of the girl to be equal in rights and duties in the family. By considering them to be inferior to the boys and men, and considering as adequate the educational, cultural and technical-vocational level which they have acquired through education, these concepts hinder the girl or the women from studying, continuing their education, learning about present-day developments, and participating in more cultural, artistic activities, and so forth.

In the families in which these concepts are still alive, husbands and sons have generally the right to use the educational, formative and rest conditions which our socialist society has created, whereas, for wives and, to some extent, for daughters, too, there are still cases when it is not considered normal to attend cultural and educational institutions. The daughter or the wife in these type of families attends cultural activities in cases when she is invited or when the activity is organized by the school, work center or city sector. It is difficult for the conservative to oppose these institutions and, therefore, in such cases he compromises.

This "compromise" proves in fact the degree which has been attained in understanding the figure and the position of the woman in the family and in the society. Today we cannot talk about such conservatives and patriarchs who prevent the girl or the woman from leaving the threshold of the house. Faced with the reality in which girls and women live and work in a social environment of an established level and of an ever-greater emancipation, the conservatives are frightened by this opinion and, therefore, they are manifested and persist, generally, in the family where for well-known reasons the fight against them is not as intensive.

Because there are manifestations of the atavism of superiority of man and inferiority of the woman, it happens also that the man allows himself the luxury of leaving the house in order to meet his friends, to go to the library or take a walk even when he knows that he is needed at home. Some women even allow this luxury to their men. Of course, these attitudes must be fought in each case, otherwise the woman cannot create that free time required for her to take it easy and to enrich her spiritual world. This time is essential especially today when it is necessary to live better with the situations to which we respond with the Marxist-Leninist educational and technical-vocational knowledge and through the participation by us all in the management and organization of production, in efficient scientific work.

The woman is aware of these tasks and she is in favor of carrying them out, but if she is too busy in the family she has no time to study a technical book, to prepare herself for that type of education, to attend a show or a cultural or artistic activity. And, in order to change this situation, she must fight more and should, therefore, receive more support in this struggle by the family and also by all levers of the party which should create concrete conditions for her and provide her with moral encouragement to register at schools and courses, to participate in scientific councils and groups, to enroll in libraries and to become active in cultural and artistic activities. Where the society's interest becomes a reality, the achievements become a reality and multiply.

There are many facts which speak of the conviction which is being created in the girls and the women that the raising of the educational level and the assimilation of the technical-professional knowledge are becoming a necessity today. In Kruje District, for example, we notice this conviction in the fact that, during the 1980-1981 school-year, women and girls made up 47.3 percent of the total number of workers who attended schools without interruption of work. In the artistic enterprise of this district, where girls and women make up the largest part of the collective, they took the initiative for all the girls and

the women with middle education to become library members. Today, their initiative is being expanded by the women's organization in the district and the objective is to read more technical-scientific books associated with their work because, until now, only 23 percent of the readers have borrowed technical-scientific literature from the library.

The women's union organization in Korce District has established and is pursuing concrete and rich forms of work to reduce the inequality between men and women in the educational, cultural and technical-scientific fields. In addition to the increase in the participation of women in training courses which constitute also the basic form of the professional capability, a good job is also being done for the technical training of new female workers who have completed general middle education, by placing them under the guidance of the older workers. The experience in the rug enterprise where, for every loom in which 4-5 senior workers are employed, 1-2 new workers are hired who learn their trade within a short time, in general, is being generalized in other enterprises. The girls and the women of Korce District, like those of the entire country, are becoming conscious that the new qualitative demands require high levels of education and training. The registration and attendance of the girls and of the women in middle and higher schools, especially vocational schools, is becoming an important direction for raising their educational and technical vocational level. The middle economic school of this district is being attended this year by 299 girls and women, the evening general middle school by 214, the middle vocational school, set-up within the garment combine, is attended by 33 women and girls. Hundreds of cooperativist women and girls attend agricultural middle schools in which, this year, work is being carried out in these schools to better acquire knowledge so that they can be more valuable to the girls and the women in the application of expanded production of a new modern agrotechnology and technology in order to obtain those high yields which have been scheduled for this 5-year plan period.

The Eighth Party Congress made it clear once more that the activity of the people will be successful and the established objectives will be realized when the educational work relies properly on economic, organizational and administrative measures.

This lesson of the party is of special value also for the problem which we treat in this article. No matter how organized and skillful the educational work with the women and the entire society may be for the creation of convictions about the necessity that women be relieved of housework tasks so that they can have more free time to raise their educational, cultural, and technical-professional level, the required effect will fail to materialize if it is not accompanied by some other measures within and outside the family.

From this need for the coordination of the educational work with economic and organizational measures, there arises also the need for the broader understanding of the problem, for the coordination of a greater number of forces and levers of the party in order to attain the equality of woman with man in the educational, cultural and technical-vocational field which constitutes an important objective of great current and long-range value, especially with regard to the implementation of the tasks set by the party at its Eighth Congress.

By representing more directly the masses of the women and being charged by the party to follow more closely some of their specific problems, such as the excessive work in the family which hinders the women from the right to constantly raise her educational, cultural and technical-vocational level, the women's union organization plays a special role in this field of cooperation. The women's councils in the economic enterprises and the women's organizations in the village must demand more from themselves and, also, from the other levers of the party to create for the woman all the conditions to steadily enhance her role "as active builders of socialism, as fearless defenders of the homeland, as a caring mother and educator of the new generation" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party," p 103).

5112

CSO: 2100/78

BULGARIA

GENERAL CALLS FOR BETTER COORDINATION OF RESEARCH, FIELD TRAINING

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 11, 12 Aug 82

[Article by Lt Gen Dincho Veley: "Effectiveness of Military Scientific Work";
passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[11 Aug 82 p 2]

[Text] The 12th BCP Congress defined the most important lines of development of science. In the report of the BCP Central Committee delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the chief requirement set for the scientific front was defined very clearly: "To assure the comprehensive study of fundamental problems involving the achieving of general intensification."

The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress regarding the basic directions of the USSR's economic and social development in 1981-1985 and during the period up to 1990 closely link the tasks of the intensification of the national economy and the rise of its efficiency with the question of the accelerated introduction of scientific and technical progress.

Since the 12th BCP Congress the commanders have been organizing research, raising its efficiency, and enlisting a large circle of specialists in this work. Some of them are closely cooperating with various scientific institutes. This is so because the new modern combat materiel and the requirements for its use necessitate rapid and substantial changes in the organization and methods of conducting combat operations. Those commanders who have correctly organized military research, who have boldly raised with their entire command personnel the special-research questions that arise, and who take a creative approach to their theoretical and practical solution are achieving the greatest success in combat and political training.

/Modern combat/ requires exceptional creativity, initiative and decisiveness on the part of the commander. No new battle is like any preceding ones, for it is unlikely that any enemy commander will fight all battles according to the same decision, according to the same concept. The situation will differ

to a greater or lesser extent. The commander's actual decision and concept for fighting a battle is creative and scientific activity, the result of which, in great measure, predetermines success in battle. This creative process is of greater value still when commanders at all echelons must, in short order, solve the problems that arise in the course of combat. Commanders will have to respond to enemy surprise in methods of operation with a mode of operation that is more effective still and in some instances previously unknown. That is why modern combat cannot tolerate stereotyped decisions and lack of creativity and decisiveness in commanders' activity.

For several years this question has been the subject of a military scientific investigation of a group of officers in the unit where Officer Petrov serves. He shows that creativity, and especially the manifestation of it, is related to whether the commander has high training, decisiveness and independence. Theoretically, some trained commanders without the necessary army experience, decisiveness and assumption of responsibility come to stereotyped decisions, react slowly to a situation, and seek a methodicalness in their work that tends towards a formalist and bureaucratic style.

The methods of using combat materiel in modern battle decisively increase or decrease its military characteristics. The squad leader, the gun and tank crew chief, the platoon and company commander, and even any soldier into whose hands we entrust complex modern equipment and armament, display creativity to some extent or other in determining the most efficient methods of employing them in combat.

In Lt Genkov's company some new and perfected modes of operation with armament and methods of delivering fire with it are employed, which not only shorten the time required for the first shot by 25 percent, but raise fire effectiveness by 10 percent. For the relevant required standard of performance their firing is always excellent. But not content to rest easy with what they have achieved in recent firing, they have increased the speed of combat vehicles during firing, the range to targets and their angle of site. In preparing materiel and armament for firing, they endeavor not only to zero all parameters, but to find ways of lessening the adverse effect of some windage. With them, the slogan, "It takes a day to get combat materiel and armament ready, but an hour to fire!," is implemented in practice.

Adjustment fire is performed by the crews themselves and not, as in some sub-units, by an appointed officer. Allowance for ballistic and meteorological conditions, for angle of site and other corrections, mastery of fire plans and preparation of initial firing data have become a thoroughgoing weekly scientific work of the entire military collective. In addition to getting combat materiel and armament ready for firing, company personnel seriously concern themselves with /improving and discovering new methods/ of delivering fire.

The company long ago discarded the obsolete "correction according to burst" method as the sole method. The soldiers rightly consider this method as not sufficiently effective in delivering fire on the move or on moving targets, when the combat vehicle or the target or both are changing position simultaneously, and under mountainous conditions. In such event, destruction of the target on the first shot is not assured.

Questions of raising fire effectiveness are a subject for serious creative activity for the personnel of Senior Lt Velkov's battery, too. On a change of firing position, the vehicle with the senior battery officer races to the new firing position. While the battery is withdrawn from the firing position and moved out to the new one, the battery is already tied in and the initial firing data are prepared or the time required to prepare the battery for the opening of fire from the new firing position is cut down 50 percent.

In both company and battery, practical application of the new methods has in practice involved much unplanned strenuous training. Sometimes they have also involved failures; they have not, however, discouraged the officers and men, but have intensified their desire to overcome difficulties.

The commanders of Senior Lt Petrov's combat engineer company, for example, decided to use combat materiel and methods of operation in a new way in making passages through the enemy's engineering obstacles. In this way they achieved a twofold shortening of the time.

Socialist competition took place in the companies and the battery between the soldiers in the tank and gun crew, between platoon crews, and between the platoons in the company in respect of the standards set for their scientific creative quests.

Here is the analysis /of the training method/ for instruction in preparation for tank fire on the tank range. Time: 100 minutes, including 10 minutes introduction, 3 minutes getting started and assignment of mission--5 to 8 minutes for the performance of every fire mission, selection of the important target, determination of distance, selection of the method for its destruction etc.

The time for the performance of other fire missions is spent this way, too. In analyzing the results plotted on cards, the favorable ratings for the performance of fire missions can be clearly seen. However, in collating the results with those of the training exercise before and after, it can be seen that they hardly change or the changes are negligible. "We train and train, and then the same thing over again," Pfc Neshev generalized.

The commanders made another comparison--after 10 drills they performed one of the preparatory exercises. The result did not differ significantly from the first. The commanders and gunners made almost the same "regrettable" mistakes in the preparation of initial firing data and in firing methods. The time has come to evaluate the organization and methods of instruction. The bold decision to subject the present instructional method to critical analysis and to seek a more efficient one does the officers credit. Analysis reveals that with this instructional organization and methodology, the commanders' role in instruction is belittled. They stand at the control panel and perform the functions of operator in making targets appear for some particular fire mission. At the same time they also perform other auxiliary functions. In this manner, individual specific instruction and control by the company commander and platoon commanders are lacking.

In a drill exercise the identical errors are usually repeated. The errors are practiced, become habits in the trainees and are hard to eradicate later on. The drill exercises themselves do not have the necessary tension; habits are not improved, nor are skills deepened and widened. Training time is wasted, trainee activity is low, and abstractions and oversimplifications are permitted in the instruction. The efficiency and quality of classwork are low. That is why the senior commander ordered the soldiers to remain at the training center for an entire week, to train day and night and improve their fire training.

[12 Aug 82 p 2]

[Text] The young company commanders' scientific and creative quest led them to favorable results. With the new organization of classwork and instructional methods, activity at all command echelons during classwork was planned in advance. Not a single commander remained overall director for 1 hour of training. One platoon commander had time to check and help three chiefs and gunners, the second gave more time to the gunner and the chief of the platoon's second crew, while the third commander took a seat behind the weakest gunner and instructed him. The company commander during this time instructed his crew and the company first sergeant. The trainee errors that were discovered were weeded out, the classwork went into greater detail, and skills were improved.

In target reconnaissance drill it was found that personnel performed their missions excellently. But during firing, especially on an unfamiliar range or terrain, they were slow to detect targets and determined initial firing data incorrectly, or failed to detect them at all. This called for a change of setting in order to get out of the rut, and for training on a terrain and in a setting that were unfamiliar.

The same company conducted a tactical and marching drill exercise and a tactical exercise with field firing. The organization and preparation for the tactical and marching drill exercise began a week before this. One evening the commanders discussed the questions: "Why is modern battle primarily fire combat?"; "What are the content and method of conducting a tactical and marching drill exercise with subunits?"; "What maneuver can be performed in the forthcoming training exercise?"; "methods of combating the enemy's electronic equipment and antitank means." The creative work of the commanders was accomplished in all the classwork before the training exercise and became a concern of the entire military collective of the company.

Several times they conducted training exercises with commanders in control of the subunit and its fire--different methods of operating in a different situation, control commands and drills with the means of radio communication were mastered. Control was established in every exercise and in everyday army life. The prescribed order was established in the company, while alacrity and accuracy were inculcated in the personnel led by their commanders. In exercises, commands were prepared and executed, and reports rendered.

/The tactical and marching drill exercise/ before the training exercise allowed 95 percent of the training time for operations--training, commands and reports --and only 5 percent for the assignment of missions, explanations and critiques. New questions of deployment and control were rehearsed with diligence and creativity by the entire personnel.

In the tactical training exercise with field firing, the layout of training targets was not arranged in accordance with the old stereotype, but according to the modern concepts by which the enemy fights battles; means of electronic warfare and many other surprises were used. Interesting "combat," approximating modern requirements, was acted out. This was proof that conditions are being brought about for the creative military scientific work of commanders in the organization and control of, and methods of fighting a modern battle.

Not long ago a small military collective, with the help of scientific institutes, developed an electronic monitoring contactless instrument for driver training for combat vehicles. Its introduction released many service personnel, engaged in providing driving, from inefficient utilization of their military labor. It saves training time, increases the capacity of tankodromes, eliminates subjectivism in ratings, saves money and has other advantages besides.

For a long time a group of officers has been engaged also with the question of the fire efficiency of armored carriers. Two company commanders measure distances and angles while the armored carriers are on the move at some distance behind the tanks. These are recorded in notebooks, the commanders theorize, and at length the most accurate decision is found. The two company commanders will have to implement it in practice. The first experiment was favorable, but in its practical implementation a few more unsolved questions have arisen, namely, mainly in the control of the subunits and their fire. In constructing a fire system on the offensive, it is imperative that there be uniform reference points and signals, that the regulation control commands be mastered, and that exact and punctual execution of the commands be required. Nobody is accusing the company commanders and the exercise director of the deficiencies that have occurred. They have created difficulties for themselves--jamming, complex layout of training targets, powerful antitank defense, high speed, use of smoke screens, and many other means and methods besides that make training conditions approximate the requirements of modern combat. They were thinking how they would wage war under modern conditions. And with good reason.

Those commanders err who believe that military scientific work, creative quests and investigations of new forms and methods of armed combat, and the tactical use of combat materiel and weapons are a sector solely for scientists at scientific institutes, for the academy and senior staff officers. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union shows that when practical battle experience raised questions for military science, in large part they were solved directly in the troops on the initiative of the commanders. Thus practical experience necessitated tankproof areas, the trench system etc.

/The main laboratory/ of military scientific quests and the basic experimental center for the development of new solutions and the refinement of the theoretical principles reflected in our regulations are tactical training exercises and drills which reveal to commanders the wide potentialities of military scientific creative work.

With the rise in the role of small subunits in modern combat, the necessity of involving unit commanders in military scientific research has grown significantly.

Company commander Lt Ivanov pondered for a long time how to deploy the company for attack on a mountainous terrain. Something bothered him, but he threw up his hands and decided to deploy it, as hitherto, in columns of platoons and then in a line of vehicles. The terrain concealed the approach and deployment. The company was deployed in columns of platoons, but on reaching the narrowest part of the ridge the platoons came together in almost one column.

After this training exercise the commanders discussed other methods of company deployment. And this brought them success.

In recent years scientific works, prepared by individual officers and collectives, have been published on a number of important questions in military science. There is no concealing that among them there are some poor ones, without practical value or simply put together from foreign translated works. Many of these have no scientific or practical value. The reason lies in the inadequate knowledge of the character of modern all-arms combat and the lack of practical military experience. But experience shows that important fundamental research yields the highest results when conducted by the integrated efforts of scientific institutes, VUZ's [higher educational institutions] and the troops.

The personal participation of commander, staff, party and Komsomol workers determines the attitude and participation of subordinate commanders, communists and Komsomol members towards scientific military research and towards its efficiency and quality.

The involvement and activation of all subunit commanders in military scientific research will sharply improve their personal training, the quality of the training process, the combat readiness of the troops and the efficiency of the military scientific research itself. And this will lead to greater successes in both combat and political training.

6474
CSO: 2200/146

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

QUESTIONS ON MILITARY SCHOOLS STUDIES ANSWERED

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech No 11, 1982 pp 416-417

[Text] [Question] My son is about to graduate from a military high school. At which advanced military school can he pursue his studies upon graduation from this type of high school? (Pavel K., Prague)

[Answer] Graduates of military high schools of Jan Zizka from Trocnov in Opava, Moravska Trebova, Prague and the school of Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica are afforded an opportunity to pursue their studies at advanced military schools in keeping with the needs of the Czechoslovak People's Army and are trained particularly for studying at the Ground Forces Military Academy of three-time hero of the CSSR and hero of the Soviet Union general of the army Ludvik Svoboda (4-year command and engineering orientations motorized infantry, armor, reconnaissance, artillery and engineers) and the Military Technical Academy of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship in Liptovsky Mikulas (4-year command and engineering study orientations--radio-technical means of antiair defense, antiaircraft artillery technology, radar complexes and automated systems of command, troops of national antiair defense and communications and signal troops).

Only a limited number of military high school graduates are afforded the possibility to study at the Military Aviation Academy of the Slovak National Uprising in Kosice. Specifically, it is a 4-year command and engineering study orientation pilot school. However, applicants for this course of study, while meeting all generally applicable conditions, must, if selected, also render proof of physical fitness for aviation training certified by the Aviation Health Institute.

Students of military high schools whose state of health deteriorated in the course of their high school studies and have a lower medical classification can study at other military schools those courses specified by the Ministry of National Defense. However, in no case is it envisioned to allow these graduates to attend the Military Medical Research and Postgraduate Studies Institute of Jan Evangelista Purkyne in Hradec Kralove, which also applies to military specialization in the School of Physical Education and Sports of the King Charles University in Prague.

[Question] Is it possible to study at an advanced military school immediately upon graduation from a military vocational high school? (Alexandr S., Ceske Budejovice)

[Answer] Only the best graduates of military high schools can be allowed to pursue studies at advanced military schools immediately upon graduation from a military vocational high school, depending on the needs of individual branches and services of the Czechoslovak People's Army in keeping with specific quotas prescribed by the Ministry of National Defense.

Selection of career soldiers and, consequently, also of graduates of military vocational high schools for study at military academies is organized in keeping with the long-term needs of individual branches and services after several years of practical performance of specific military functions whereby the candidate must meet all the prescribed criteria for acceptance for study at a military academy.

[Question] I am a graduate of the Air Force Military Vocational High School. Can I continue my studies through attendance of the 2-year Air Force Officers School? (Arnost V., Bratislava)

[Answer] Selections for attendance of the 2-year Air Force Officers School are made from the ranks of civilian and military youth skilled in some trade or farming with incomplete secondary education. In view of the fact that you do not meet the above specified conditions, you cannot be accepted for study at the 2-year Air Force Officers School established at the Presov Military Aviation Training Center.

Thus, as regards graduates of the Air Force Vocational High School, after completion of their studies they are assigned warrant officer grade to perform technical functions in Air Force and technical aviation units. Nevertheless, it is true that the best graduates of that school, if interested and if they submit an application, can be assigned directly for study at the Air Force Military Academy of the Slovak National Uprising in Kosice. Others, after several years' experience in Air Force units can apply for study in military, mechanical, or electrotechnical engineering. Top graduates of the Air Force Military Vocational High School, depending on conditions and opportunities, can be assigned to Air Force or technical aviation units where they will perform basic officer functions and, if their performance warrants, can apply to take officer examinations and become career officers of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

[Question] What is the objective of studies at the Military Aviation Training Center in Presov? (Boris M., Mlada Boleslav)

[Answer] The mission of the Military Aviation Training Center in Presov is to provide an all-round preparation for life and service as career soldiers in units of the Czechoslovak Air Force highly qualified and ideologically mature specialists in the fields of aviation engineering, radiotechnical aviation support, airport operational services and meteorological service.

Flight safety and the life of aircraft crews depend on reliable functioning of aviation equipment, and the latter depends on the performance of aviation ground specialists. For that reason the performance of these specialists must be characterized by a high degree of personal responsibility, precision, conscientious perseverance, mutually coordinated teamwork, help and support. The challenging nature of their performance places high demands on the character, ideological awareness, professional, physical and mental quality of personnel that prepare aviation technology for carrying out both training and combat missions.

[Question] Can a married attendant of a military academy--a career soldier be assigned family quarters? (Antonin D., Pardubice)

[Answer] Married students of military academies are not assigned quarters in the course of their studies, i.e., the reader cannot count on being assigned family quarters in the course of his studies at a military academy. Only in entirely exceptional cases can the commandant of a military academy, if the school's conditions permit, allow a married student to share one room with his spouse in the bachelors' quarters.

[Question] I am a certified apprentice in a trade. Being a girl, can I pursue studies at the 2-year Air Force Officers School to become a helicopter pilot? (Helena T., Ostrava)

[Answer] The 2-year Air Force Officers School can be attended exclusively by boys skilled in a trade or in farming with completed basic education. From this it follows that the 2-year Air Force Officers School for training helicopter pilots cannot be attended by girls.

[Question] I am concluding my 2nd year of studies at the Technical College in Brno. Can I transfer to continue my 3rd year of studies at the Military Aviation Academy in Kosice? (Julius M., Hodonin)

While the law applying to institutions of higher learning enables students to transfer to another institution of higher learning, this possibility is not provided under the conditions of the Czechoslovak People's Army for several reasons. First of all, attendants of military academies from the ranks of civilian youth perform during the first 5 months of their studies simultaneously their basic military service and, after its completion, are accepted for employment as career soldiers with the grade of warrant officer. In addition, while social science, general education and general engineering subjects at military academies are almost identical, special academic subjects with specialized military orientation that already had formed a part of the curriculum, would not allow transferring students to pass qualifying examinations.

For the specified reasons a transfer from the 2nd year of studies at the Technical College in Brno, after completion of studies, to the 3rd year of studies at the Military Aviation Academy of the Slovak National Uprising in Kosice is not possible.

If you are genuinely interested in studying at the Military Aviation Academy of the Slovak National Uprising in Kosice, your only resource is to commence studies at that school starting with the 1st year.

Answers prepared by -JJ-

8204
CSO: 2400/335

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EFFECTIVENESS OF PUNISHMENT IN CRIMINAL'S RE-EDUCATION DISPUTED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 91, 18 Jun 82 pp 1-2

/Report from Berlin: "Crime Rate Is Causing Worries in GDR--East Berlin Criminologist Doubts Educational Effectiveness of Prison Sentences." A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ In a conversation with reporters Magdeburg Bezirk public prosecutor Manfred Wagner admitted that, despite much progress, crime in the GDR still gives cause for concern "to some extent." According to him one reason is the great material damage caused by crime, especially in the economy. In Magdeburg alone such damage amounted to more than M12 million in 1981, and this does not even take into account some serious economic after effects. Wagner reports that crimes against property continue to loom large in GDR crime statistics. (In 1980 the 60,940 crimes against property recorded in the GDR accounted for 47.2 percent of total crime--IWE) As regards the punishment of crimes, the Magdeburg Bezirk public prosecutor stated that only every fourth offender was sentenced to a prison term in 1981. The bezirk public prosecutor considers the preponderance of probation an important method for re-educating the offender by and in society.

In this connection East Berlin criminologist Prof Erich Buchholz proclaimed his doubts about the educational effectiveness of prison sentences. In an article in the East Berlin review NEUE JUSTIZ (No 6, 1982) he wrote that sentences involving the loss of liberty did not provide a favorable outlook for lasting re-education, because the offender was removed from general social relations and his desirable re-integration in society disrupted. In general Buchholz warned against overestimating the potential of penalties. Unduly high expectations were bound to "have an adverse effect" on political and prosecutorial practice.

GDR Criminologist's Critique

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 82 pp 263-267

/'For Discussion' feature article by Prof Dr Erich Buchholz, Jurisprudence Department, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "The Educational Role and Effectiveness of Punishment"/

/Text/ The current discussion of basic problems of punishment in socialism¹ focuses primarily on the question of the role and potential of punishment, its educational function and effectiveness. As H. Weber properly pointed out, these issues are debated especially because our society has entered a new and advanced stage of its development, and the Tenth SED Congress has issued new and more challenging assignments in the field of criminal law also. In the stage of the developed socialist society ----a necessary, inevitable and historically long period in the development of the communist society--²the theoretical and practical mastery of the "dialectic between external and internal development," "the provision of correct interrelations between the various sectors of social life" becomes "one of the most important issues."³ Decisive here is the further "perfection of the total democratic structure of the political organization of socialism..., the operational efficiency of the workers and farmers power in all situations." This includes the necessity "more accurately in terms of science to define the place, the role, the function and the mode of action of the state and the law (and of course also the various politico-legal remedies such as punishment--E.B.) within the political organization."⁴

In view of these aspects, punishment should not be considered as an isolated measure but in its many dialectic, social,⁵political and ideological contexts. As G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter properly note, we must distinguish clearly between its complex operational mechanism and the network of innumerable reciprocal social, personal and material as well as ideological and objective givens (conditions for operation and/or effectiveness) and the criteria of efficacy. We will not achieve greater effectiveness by changes to or in punishment (the amount of the penalty, for example). Greater Effectiveness can be generated only to the extent that we succeed in so altering operational conditions as will enable us better to achieve the aim of the punishment or the purposes of criminal responsibility.

The Educational Function of Punishment

In the theory and practice of our criminal law we often mention education. It may, though, be somewhat unclear what exactly we mean by this term, and we tend to note a frequent unscientific approach to this question, sterile arguments about terms as well as obsolete conceptions.

I maintain that a fruitful discussion of the educational function of punishment, of education by punishment or the unity of punishment and education is possible only when we assume that appropriate conceptions exist not only of punishment but also of education. We need to finally abandon all un-Marxist and unscientific attitudes.

The Bourgeois Conception of Education

Our citizens have by no means universally discarded the bourgeois conception of education, whether in terms of ideology or action. This conception is fundamentally oriented to the individual in isolation and basically means that an individual educator unilaterally acts upon pupils (again primarily defined as individuals) as objects of education (with aims differentiated as to class). This educational conception, oriented to the individual in isolation, reflects the basic bourgeois social model of cooperation--based mainly on the exchange of goods--between (individual) private owners. It corresponds to the conception of individual freedom. In other words, education there is understood as a process that is largely removed from real

life, as influence exerted on the respective individuals, exerted manipulatively, behaviorally, approvingly and disapprovingly as well as politico-administratively.

Of course man is a social being, even in capitalism, "an ensemble of social conditions," living and working in social groups and relationships. The working class there also is developing its new educational concept of education, directed to a sense of community and solidarity. Yet, still predominant is the educational concept based on the philosophy of bourgeois individualism. Despite many differences in detail, it determines the types and methods of education practiced. Analogously they are to be found within the scope of bourgeois criminal law (including execution) in various programs of treatment and resocialization or socio-therapeutic concepts as well as types of probationary assistance.

At the same time a critical glance at our everyday education shows that even here verbal or administrative influences, oriented to the individual, continue to persist. I maintain that such educational practices leave unexploited significant potentials and reserves of the socialist society. We will be able to overcome the backlog with regard to the social potentials and needs only when we achieve ideological clarity as the intellectual prerequisite for correct action.

The Marxist-Leninist Concept of Education

In acute and fundamental contrast to the bourgeois concept of education, oriented to the individual, Marxism-Leninism assumes that people are the products of circumstances and education, and changed people therefore the product of changed circumstances and education. Consequently it is of paramount importance for the circumstances to be changed by people, and for the educator himself to be educated. In other words, the conjunction of the change in circumstances and human activity must be interpreted as revolutionary practice. Karl Marx countered Feuerbach's "perception of single individuals" by that of "social humankind."⁶

Such fundamentally different philosophical approaches to the issue of education result in a totally different conception of education: In socialism men develop and educate themselves under the leadership of the party of the working class, mainly by way of cooperative production and sociopolitical practice as well as by their cultural activities in their many collectives and interhuman relations.

Socialist education is basically the purposeful organization of collective life and work, the active interrelations between active members of the collective, who are mainly themselves subjected to this collective educational process and thus reproduce the unity of collective and self-education. Of course certain people (parents, teachers, managers and so on) hold a special--and leading--responsibility. Education in the collectives is largely managed and encouraged by central total societal politico-ideological and moral-legal orientations and assignments (including by legislation and judicial verdicts, social organizations and mass media).

Socialist education therefore reflects in a quite specific manner the purposeful development of the socialist production method by the unity of socialist democracy and democratic centralism. The dialectic of individual and society involved here is crucially affected by several and varied collectives or collective relations within which the individual works, lives and develops his personality.

Conscious Organization of Social and Individual-Personal Development

It is not possible within the scope of this article to present the entire socialist conception of education. To be emphasized as particularly significant and characteristic is the fact that education is rooted in work and must be interpreted as reciprocal activity in collective relations as well as a purposefully and politically managed process that, in itself, is only one element of the reproduction of the respective society. Education, therefore, must mainly be the conscious organization--relevant to facts and tasks--of social and individual-personal development. Any "special kind" of education removed from this runs the risk of, for example, going to waste in nothing but constant talk and admonition, or of deteriorating to an "individual war" between educator and pupil (especially if particular pedagogical "authority" is claimed vis-a-vis the growing individual self-awareness). Education may never be separate from the collective (family, school class, work collective) nor from work (or corresponding activities such as study). Consequently we reject concepts (and often persisting practices) asserting that social education may be guaranteed by the mere reassignment of the respective person to another work collective (for example in the shape of an obligation to serve probation on the job if a probation sentence is pronounced as per article 34 StGB /criminal code, by reintegration as per article 4 paragraph 2 of the reintegration law, or--in the case of criminally endangered persons--as per article 4 paragraph 3 letter a of the decree on the tasks of local councils and enterprises in the education of criminally endangered citizens). These concepts must indeed be rejected if the person involved is to be more than the subject of "collective education," "collective educational influence," exerted by other members of the collective instead of being helped to evolve, assume and persist in an active role in the (possibly yet to be developed) collective relations.

Collectives and collective relations are the social sphere where in fact the (social) education of undisciplined citizens, criminals, criminally endangered and asocial persons does or does not take place also. The personnel of certain state organs and experts (judges, public prosecutors, staffs of Youth Aid or the department for interior affairs, psychologists and psychiatrists) outside these social relations can and must assist and encourage this real social daily process "from the outside." They give advice and counsel, initiate administrative and organizational measures and set political, moral and legal criteria (for instance by a judicial sentence). They are not able, though, directly to organize this educational process. Their work is the more effective and successful, the better they manage with the help of their specific knowledge and experience to enable the collectives together and confidently to cope with the individuals (including those who have difficulties or make them in the collective) regarding the problems of the collective and the individuals. The stage of social development achieved enables and requires us to arrange these differentiated social interrelations in a more coordinated, systematic, conscious and organized (and, consequently, more effective) form and at the same time respect the growing role of the basic collectives (work collectives, family, and so on).

Collective Relations as the Foundation for Coping With Disciplinary and Integrative Difficulties

No real education is to be found outside or past these differentiated social interrelations. It is entirely natural, even inevitable, that now--when socialism here

is developing on its own foundation after the revolutionary solution of the decisive and basic socio-economic problems--we can increasingly devote ourselves to the development of individual personalities in their collectives, indeed want and must do so. In my view this indicates the emergence at a higher level of new problems that are no less complex and comprehensive, involving all scientific disciplines. These problems must be handled as a whole, together with all economic, political and ideological needs. Evidently we do not yet dispose of answers that are the best in every respect. However, a decisive factor is a basic conception, appropriate to the real social inevitabilities and defining the evolving socialist personality in its social activity and real materially determined collectivity. The long-range strategy based on this conception, though, must ensure that--in the case of educational, integrative and disciplinary difficulties exceeding the natural contradictorness and conflict potential of any developmental and educational process reflecting the incipient emergence from elementary collective social relations--every effort is made right from the start and as early as possible to exclude any further separation of such people from normal collective relations and to create such conditions as will serve their social integration.

In view of some persisting erroneous conceptions and harmful practices in our daily lives it is impossible to overemphasize this basic conception, postulated by the very nature of socialism. Of course it can be fully realized only in the long term but is nevertheless completely valid. Disregarding some necessary reactions--including administrative measures--in single instances, the basic orientation appropriate to socialism, that is the involvement of all citizens--is bound to lead to the conclusion that people with disciplinary and integrative difficulties also must be practically and socially rather than just formally integrated in and by various collective relations. This difficult task requires patience and, above all, sensitivity, understanding and appreciation of the partner. It also needs consistency and practical aid, especially because sometimes an opposite development was permitted to continue for many years. If, in single cases, these efforts remain unsuccessful, nobody should be either surprised or even discouraged. All special (for example sociopedagogical or punitive and administrative) measures must still be so designed as to ultimately achieve a productive reintegration of such people too--by one means or the other--in natural and real collective relations.⁸ There simply is no such thing as a pedagogical miracle method.

Relationship Between Punishment and Education

Punishment and education have common social bases and the same class-like purpose. Precisely for that reason they may be related to one another. However, highly significant are the differences accounting for the absolute inadmissibility of any equalization or comparability--also in the meaning of the alternative "education" or "punishment."

The Conceptual Definition of "Punishment" and "Education"

Education amounts to a permanent, contradictory, complex and progressive process of individual as well as collective development. It employs certain forms, methods and means, including disapproving reactions to offenses against the interests of the collective.

Punishment (criminal penalty) by contrast is a single remedy (used for a relatively shorter or longer period) serving total societal-national interests (purposes), in particular protection from crime (articles 1 and 2 StGB). Consequently punishment is aimed especially at hostile criminal attacks and other serious crimes. Here the task of educating the criminal by way of punishment is certainly not in the foreground.

With regard to collective development and collective relationships within which the criminal lives, punishment derives "from the outside," a superior interest. Its educational function therefore has a genuinely practical effect only if (being a total societal-national measure) it finds support in the collectives, and if the criminal is prepared and ready to accept the claim on him expressed in mandatory fashion by the penalty and underlined by the necessity of serving his sentence. In this case the punishment serves not only an offender-related (individually preventive) but also a society-related (generally preventive) education and stabilization of the citizens.

By its specific nature, though, punishment aims to educate criminals and others to the observance of socialist legality or action for the prevention of crime. Punishment, therefore, is not a means for coping with a social misdevelopment⁹ or correcting other phenomena of personality deformation (such as asocial behavior or "hardened and persistently wrong attitudes of recidivists").¹⁰ It is neither suitable nor intended for such a purpose. However, in conjunction with other forms, means and methods adequate to such phenomena, it may well assist the process of overcoming misdevelopments.

It is imperative for the educational operation of the punishment to be based on the collectives within which the offender lives. It would indeed be more accurate not to say that punishment educates but to assume that the punishment imparts certain impulses to the educational actions of the collectives or in the collectives, and that it operates educationally by way of these collectives. The socialist society offers fundamental and basically new prerequisites, potentials and opportunities for this educational effect of penalties. Unfortunately they often fail to be sufficiently utilized.

In the case of penalties not involving the loss of freedom in particular, favorable collective and personality conditions may be expected to yield the desired educational results more often than do less favorable conditions. In my opinion it is not at all surprising that optimum conditions for educational influence do not prevail when punishment needs to involve the loss of freedom, thereby removing the offender from general social relations.

Crime Relevance and Temporal Limitation of the Punishment

In contrast to education, crime relevance (or the crime principle) is of particular significance for the specific nature of punishment. The crime is the only actual and legal reason for the punishment. The criterion for the penalty is the seriousness of the crime, the extent of criminal responsibility. Limited thereby is the temporal operation of the judicial penalty (for example the length of the period of imprisonment or probation) as well as the kind of operation (for example obligations or inroads in the rights of the offender).¹¹ The educational influence of the

collectives and social forces, on the other hand, is unlimited both in temporal and substantive terms--exactly like the educational process in general.

Punishment in socialism consequently draws mainly from the inexhaustible social source of strength, deriving from it its special effectiveness. To use the benefits of socialism in this meaning therefore means the closest possible coupling of the state (penal code) types of influence with those of social influence, collective education (see article 2 paragraph 2 StGB). For the definition of the extent of the penalty and the punitive effect of the penalty, the crime principle (that is the principle of defining the penalty by the seriousness of the crime, by the extent of personal criminal responsibility) exercises an important juridical guarantee function¹² in the interest of security under the law.

The sometimes extremely serious interference with the rights and interests of a citizen caused by the penalty require its limitation as per a generally applicable criterion set by the ruling working class, as per a legal apportionment discernible only from an objectified attitude. This follows inevitably from the legal nature of the punishment and, at the same time, signifies that neither some need for education nor treatment nor a (personal) threat posed by the criminal may be the criterion for the severity of the punishment. Any measures possibly determined by such criteria would deny the very nature of punishment. These aspects may not result in a more severe penalty (compulsory application) than objectively warranted and justified by the seriousness of the crime.¹³

As defined by the crime principle, punishment differs from any curative measures, whether in the shape of treatment, social therapy, social pedagogy and similar--most of all medical treatment--, which are dictated not by the criterion of responsibility but by the therapeutic result to be achieved. That is why the execution of the sentence definitely ends at the time prescribed, regardless of any goals actually achieved, while the duration of a curative treatment, a sociotherapeutical or special sociopedagogical measure (such as a youth work camp) is always oriented to the achievement of curative or therapeutic success (or similar conditions), certainly not to the seriousness of the offense.

Individualization of Punishment

The juridical nature of the penalty also implies that any individualization of the punishment, in other words consideration for the individuality of the offender, is possible or admissible not in absolute terms but only as per the legal standards (of the general and specific section, StGB).¹⁴ The socialist criminal code does indeed offer a good deal of scope to expert differentiation. The legally defined circumstances relating to a crime and the criminal are also the objective of the ascertainment of facts in the course of the investigation or the court hearing of evidence (for example, among others, the offender's fitness for work as per article 33 paragraph 4 No 1 in conjunction with article 34 StGB). By contrast other aspects--collective situation, special personal problems, peculiarities or kinds of reaction, exceptional circumstances, and so on--are taken into account within the scope of collective education or pedagogical practice (such as the case of collective or pedagogical disapproval of a disciplinary offense). Evidently the criminal code allows very little scope indeed to such considerations.

The Operational Mechanism of Punishment

The connections described earlier have direct significance for the problem of the effectiveness of punishment and its improvement also--this is the most important and comprehensive practical task of our administration of justice. It is impossible in this article to deal in detail with the theory of the operation and effectiveness of the law. It is obvious, though, that any well-founded appraisal of the effectiveness of punishment and any promising action aimed at its improvement depend on the operation of the punishment, how its operational mechanism proceeds, which real effects it arouses or is able to arouse.

Any overestimate of the potential of punishment, any excessive expectation of its operation¹⁵ is bound to prove harmful to political and prosecutorial practice--exactly as any unjustified underestimate of its sociopolitical function. It is my belief that we must deal firmly with some persisting erroneous conceptions that assume a direct connection between punishment and renewed crime and therefore declare recidivism to be the prime criterion of the effectiveness of punishment--and consequently also of the execution of sentences.¹⁶ Basically such conceptions deny the individual decisionmaking ability and responsibility of the person punished and impute a one-dimensional and mechanical causal connection between punishment and renewed crime. Thus considered, punishment turns into the cause of recidivism (or its absence). However, such a mode of thought misjudges the actual complexity of genuine interrelations, the objective dialectic of reality.

Actually punishment is only one factor among the many social "criminogenous and anticriminogenous" material and ideological conditions in which the individual decides to commit a crime, motivated by irresponsible independence, or avoids criminal behavior, motivated by a sense of responsibility. Punishment indeed does not proceed in isolation and mechanically, it operates in varied, total societal, collective and individual, social and personal conditions. The (sane and accountable) person is not merely the plaything of circumstances. He is a person capable of independent action and responsible decisions (failing this he could not even be tried). He is this all the more as our socialist social conditions have eliminated the socio-economic roots of crime.

The Operation of Punishment Within the Social Operation

In my opinion we may talk of the effectiveness of punishment only when taking into account the totality of the many interrelations as a social operation within which the punishment itself in fact acts and arouses quite specific, albeit very different effects. At the same time the mechanism of this operation is very differentiated in the individual case with respect to the various kinds of punishment, their pronouncement and execution. It proceeds in quite definite circumstances. However, much effectiveness is linked with operation and effect, we must observe important differences. The effectiveness (of the punishment) cannot be simply deduced from its (varied) effects. I think we can say that punishment is effective only if the effects of the punishment meet the sociopolitical goals of the punishment (protection, prevention and education)--provided the results to be appraised are in fact effects (results) of the punishment, the penalty (the court sentence as well as its execution) and do not arise from other causes.

Punishment has its effect in the real social living conditions indicated (and these are not confined to conditions in the GDR). Admittedly, it affects the criminal himself most strongly and directly, but it also affects others (such as his family, his collective, his friends). Consequently it affects both the offender and society. Being a total societal-state measure, punishment can never be explained as something to be achieved with regard to the criminal alone. As a specific means for the enforcement of criminal responsibility it serves most of all the protection from and prevention of new crimes. In this connection let me remind you of the basic Marxist-Leninist doctrine that punishment has an important and necessary but ultimately no more than a supporting role in the struggle against crime.

Social Conditions for Achieving the Goal of the Punishment

The actual effects of the punishment on the criminal and others may or may not correspond to the desired goal (that no new crimes be committed). However, possible side effects may be such undesirable results as rejection, hardening, unreasonableness and mistrust by the offender and his environment.

It is important to be quite clear about the factors actually deciding the achievement of the goals of punishment, the social, material and ideological conditions crucial in this context, their individual standing, and whether and how they can and must be affected. The effectiveness of the punishment depends neither on our goals, intentions and desires nor on the punishment itself, let alone its apportionment. The severity of the punishment is neither the criterion nor the condition of its effectiveness; a different apportionment of punishment cannot directly achieve greater effectiveness either. Moreover, the effectiveness of punishment must be clearly defined as a politico-ideological problem and marked off from any economic cost/profit calculation.¹⁷

In this connection I would like to indicate the purpose-means dialectic, highly significant for the problem of effectiveness. As A.S.Makarenko persuasively demonstrated for our topic, no method has a significance that can be determined a priori. No method is per se positive or negative. It is not possible to use just any measure to achieve desired purposes or goals. Everything depends on the conditions in which certain measures are applied and operate, and which largely determine the effectiveness of the measure. Decisive is the total system of measures and methods within which a certain measure, such as punishment, is employed.¹⁸

The effectiveness of punishment depends on social, material and political conditions and, therefore, also on whether and in how far these may be organized more favorably in connection with the actual prosecution. The improvement of effectiveness is tantamount with the task to affect social conditions and the organization of society. This is not a task confined to judicial and security organs; indeed it is a comprehensive and complex sociopolitical task in the meaning of article 90 of the constitution and the preamble as well as article 3 StGB. Actually the task of crime prevention largely coincides with the task of improving the effectiveness of the criminal code, punishment and trials. At the same time it must also be interpreted as the task progressively so to organize social conditions in both large and small matters as to have them also more favorably affect the effectiveness of punishment.

Groups of Conditions for Operation

If we assume that total societal, political, ideological and other social conditions in the GDR and at the international level are givens,¹⁹ I will confine myself here to emphasizing the following groups of operational or effectiveness conditions:²⁰

- The personality, the particular stage of the criminal's ethical-political development (especially his consciousness of the law and his responsibility);
- The ethical-political and sociopsychological situation in his collectives, in particular their consciousness of the law, ethics and responsibility, as well as the nature of collective relations, including relations with the offender and his standing in the collective;
- The status and standard of legality, order and safety as well as consciousness of the law, ethics and responsibility in the larger social environment (region, enterprise, and so on);
- The standard and quality of the work of judicial and security organs, especially with regard to the observance of legality and the rights of citizens consonant with the special responsibility of these organs (protective of the law) for the observance and assurance of legality in both its aspects (1. In the interest of society as protection from crime, and 2. In the meaning of respect for and observance of the rights and dignity of citizens as per articles 4 and 5 StGB).

This also means that the strict observance of all standards and regulations of the material as well as the trial law does not serve socialist legality alone but represents an essential precondition for the achievement of the greatest possible effectiveness of punishment. Just this strict observance of all material and juridical regulations is the most elementary and basic requirement for the achievement of the greatest possible effectiveness of punishment. The management of the organs of justice and security is therefore oriented mainly to the absolute and total enforcement of these requirements. Accordingly supervision to ensure the absolute impossibility of any nonobservance of legal regulations (by way of the legally settled methods including disciplinary responsibility or recall) has increasing status and carries much greater weight in the stage of social development now achieved, especially from the aspect of raising the effectiveness of the law.

Based on this evident prerequisite it is imperative in my opinion, by the use of existing means and opportunities in the course of the trial and the execution of the sentence, so to influence the offender directly as well as (and very much so) by way of the collectives and other social relationships as to encourage his practical-productive social integration. By this means the conditions for the effectiveness of punishment are improved and a greater effectiveness of punishment will be achieved.

FOOTNOTES

1. See H. Weber, "The Place of Punishment in Socialism," NEUE JUSTIZ 1980, No 6, p 248; the same author's, "On the Content of the Implementation of the Sentence," NEUE JUSTIZ 1980, No 12, p 544; U. Daehn/H. Weber, "Effectiveness of Punishment," NEUE JUSTIZ 1981, No 9, p 399; G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter, "Operating Conditions of the Punishment of Recidivists," NEUE JUSTIZ 1981, No 12, p 559.

2. See L.I. Brezhnev, "CPSU Central Committee Report and the Coming Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin 1981, p 107.
3. See O. Reinhold, "Theory and Practice of the Organization of Developed Socialism," EINHEIT 1981, No 10, pp 977 ff (here pp 980 and 984).
4. See G. Schuessler, "The Tenth SED Congress Resolutions--Guideline of Political Science and Juridical Research," NEUE JUSTIZ 1981, No 10, p 434.
5. See G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter, as before, pp 559 and 561.
6. See Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," in Marx/Engels, Collected Works, Vol 3, Berlin 1959, p 5.
7. See A.S. Makarenko, Collected Works, Vol 5, Berlin 1969, pp 485, 494, 527; W. Salzwedel, "Umrisse einer Allgemeinen Paedagogik" [Outlines of General Pedagogy], Humboldt University 1981, pp 16 ff, 52 ff and 121 ff; from the penal aspect also see E. Buchholz, "The Educational Function of Punishment in the Period of Developed Socialist Construction," NEUE JUSTIZ 1964, No 19, pp 590 f; the same author's, "The Content of Social Education in the Penal Code," NEUE JUSTIZ 1967, No 7, pp 212 ff.
8. I interpret in this meaning G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter's call for the social reintegration of unstable-asocial recidivists (as before, p 561).
9. We must welcome for basic penal-theoretical reasons that the punishment of assignment to a youth house (formerly article 75 StGB) has been abolished. The direct goal of this type of penalty was the elimination of the social misbehavior of the young person, and the length of residence in the youth house was dependent on the success of reeducation. These were aspects that could not really be reconciled with penal principles.
10. See also U. Daehn/H. Weber, as before, p 400.
11. It is at least a misinterpretation for U. Daehn/H. Weber (as before, p 398) to say that "the effects of punishment are limited due to the fact that it relates to the crime." The crime relevance of punishment does indeed limit the kind, extent and length of the (politico-legal) operation of the punishment but not its actual positive and negative social and psychological effects, because these depend on the sum total of the real material and ideological conditions.
12. The abolition of the crime principle as the achievement of penal enlightenment by the rising bourgeoisie in its subsequent transition to the monopoly-capitalist stage--something I cannot at this point examine in greater detail--casts a remarkable light on the legal security and juridical guarantees in these countries.
13. See also E. Buchholz/H. Dettenborn, "Ability and Readiness of the Criminal for Future Responsible Action," NEUE JUSTIZ 1979, No 10, pp 440 ff (442). This article, though, also explains that, in individual cases, the penalty may be less than that normally called for by the seriousness of the offense, and that possibly no penalty at all may be imposed.

14. I agree with G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter who endeavor further to increase the "offender relevance of the penalty" by implanting it in other measures. The individualization (or offender relevance) of punishment cannot be unlimited; it must be oriented to legal standards. However, crucial for the effectiveness of the punishment is the individual work with the criminal (outside the scope of the penal code), especially in the stage of the implementation of the sentence.
15. U. Daehn/H. Weber (as before, p 399) also and quite properly objected to this.
16. Unlike U. Daehn/H. Weber (as before, p 399), I would therefore avoid talking of a "failure of punishment" (in cases of recidivism), because this could result in wrong and mechanistic concepts about the possibility of being able directly to measure the effectiveness of the penalty.
17. See also the pertinent remarks by U. Daehn/H. Weber, as before, p 401.
18. See W. Salzwedel, as before, pp 166 f; A.S. Makarenko, as before, pp 11 f.
19. That is why, basically, the effectiveness of punishment cannot be greater than the stage of social development achieved. It is imperative, though, optimally to utilize existing conditions.
20. G. Kraeupl/L. Reuter properly indicate that conditions and criteria of effectiveness as well as the various levels of operation must be distinguished (as before, pp 559, 561).

11698
CSO: 2300/408

THEOLOGIAN NOTES NEW DEVELOPMENT IN MARXIST-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

Budapest VILAGOSSAG in Hungarian No 7 Jul 82 pp 400-405

[Article by Elemer Kocsis, Professor of Theology at Debrecen Academy of Reformed Theology: "A New Development in Marxist-Christian Dialogue: On the "Marxist-Protestant" Dialogue in Debrecen]

[Text] In recent years, a Marxist-Protestant theoretical dialogue was begun in the columns of VILAGOSSAG. This worthy development significantly contributed to the establishment of the first Marxist-Protestant dialogue in the fall of the past year at the headquarters of the Academic Committee of Debrecen.

The symposium on religious theory held on September 25-26, 1981 in Debrecen and the Marxist-Protestant dialogue /qualitatively raised the dialogue between Marxists and Christians to a new level/. Posterity will have the task of determining whether this "dialogue in Debrecen" was truly a historically significant milestone. At any rate, widespread domestic interest as well as numerous international responses show that the dialogue was the sort of significant occurrence which deserves our interest and deeper analysis.

If we survey the history of Marxist-Christian dialogues, we can already determine with complete certainty that the circumstances and results of the establishment of the "dialogue in Debrecen" hold a unique place in the history of this type of dialogue. For the time being--disregarding the substantive results--the new format of the dialogue is already worthy of mention: 1. we can establish that never before has there been dialogue between Marxists and Christians in which a communist party's most important expert in religion along with theologians recognized by one or more churches, that is, /recognized theoreticians from both parties/ participated. 2. Further, /the dialogue proved to be productive for Marxists and Protestant Christians al ke/. 3. The goal of the theoretical dialogue conducted between Marxists and Christians to intensify the practical cooperation already proven to be sound, is totally novel.

I wish to support the above-made statements with a short survey of the history of Marxist-Christian dialogue. Although this survey does not attempt to be complete, it nevertheless strives to point out the nature and significant trends of the dialogues to date.

Initially, the /religious socialists/ were those who strove for a constructive encounter with Marxism. The religious socialists, however, could not theoretically resolve the issue of revolutionary force in Marxism, and till the very end, were unable to come to an agreement on this. On the other hand, somewhat romantically and idealistically, they identified the social aims of Marxism with the Kingdom of God. In this instance, despite every good intention, historical experience and conceptual clarity were lacking, both of which are necessary preconditions for productive dialogue.

The Christian Peace Conference [CPC] reached outstanding results in the field of /practical cooperation/ with the Marxists on such questions as, for example, the struggle against nuclear war, universal and complete disarmament, the continuation of the struggle for a more just social and economic world order, as well as cooperation on many concrete, practical international issues. The recent statement of Bishop Karoly Toth, president of the CPC, clearly indicates the merits of the movement of engaging in practical dialogue and cooperation with the Marxists. However, we can also clearly see that to date this dialogue has not dealt with fundamental theoretical issues.

The conference entitled "Church and Society" of the /World Council of Churches/ (WCC) sponsored a dialogue day in April 1968 in Geneva in which 34 theologians and 12 Marxists participated. The topic was the following: "Currents of Marxist and Christian thought concerning the questions of economic and technological development". This dialogue produced only one result worth mentioning which represented a new development in the history of Marxist-Christian dialogue. The participating Marxist and Christian theoreticians overwhelmingly argued that in the interest of a more just world order, far-reaching structural social changes are necessary, especially in the "third world". Following the reluctance of religious socialism, it seems that for the first time, an authorized forum of the Protestant and Orthodox worldwide church organization acknowledged--even if indirectly--the moral and political legitimacy of the socialist revolution.

Since 1971, the World Council of Churches maintains a permanent conference and a subdepartment at its Geneva headquarters which deals with questions concerning dialogues with various faiths and ideologies which is entitled "Dialogue with People of Living Faith and Ideologies". In 1980 this conference also held a session at Matrahaz. At its last session in December 1981 in Geneva, 30 delegates from 27 countries reported on what dialogues were conducted by member churches with different religions and ideologies in various parts of the world. Understanding the results of this conference, we can make two fundamental assertions about the work of the WCC concerning dialogues: 1. Till now, the WCC primarily noted the various dialogues pursued by the member churches. Now the theologians of the WCC are attempting to formulate the basic principles of the dialogues conducted with other faiths and ideologies. 2. Surveying the dialogues of the member churches, we can see that a dialogue similar to the "dialogue in Debrecen" is not occurring in any other part of the world. A fairly strong, practical cooperation developed between Marxists and Christians in developing countries struggling for their freedom, especially in South America and Africa; in the

capitalist countries, Marxists and Christians come together through the framework of many theoretical endeavors and concrete actions (e.g., peace marches), but practical cooperation founded on a clear theoretical basis has not yet occurred.

/The Geneva conference of the DFI contributed to the development of the Marxist- Christian dialogue, namely with respect to the attitude concerning the phenomenon of "ideology"./ At the beginning of the history of the WCC, ideology had exclusively a negative meaning. Ideology and Christianity appeared to be mutually exclusive truths. In the texts published by the WCC since the international meeting at New Delhi, ideology, taken by itself, appears as a neutral sociological term which acquires either positive or negative connotations depending on its humane or antihumane character. Ideology is a tool for man's communal strivings which is used to stabilize or mobilize society. Indeed, ideology represents the totality of different cultural and political strivings. According to the summary report of the conference, divine revelation and the corresponding beliefs cannot be included in the category of ideology; in fact, however, it is never isolated but rather always in a social, cultural, political, i.e., ideological, context. /We do not find Christian belief free of ideology either in the Bible or in the course of church history/. This connection resides in the historical nature of Christian faith. From the outset the connection of Christianity to ideology was given; the decisive issue is merely the type of ideology it is linked to and whether it can react self-critically to its own ideological bonds. We believe that this formulation of the problem, even if it does not solve it, takes the question debated not long ago in VILAGOSSAG--"Is Christian faith, i.e., Christianity, ideology?"--one step further.

It is also necessary to recall the efforts at dialogue of the Paulus Society. The Paulus Society, a private association, does not, despite public belief, belong either disciplinarily or organizationally, to the Roman Catholic Church. Between 1964 and 1978, the society conducted several high-level theoretical dialogues with the Marxists. The initial goal of the Paulus Society was to strive to ameliorate the cold-war atmosphere hallmarked by the USA, the CDU of Adenauer and the name of Pius XII through dialogue. The movement nevertheless failed primarily because it was only willing to engage in theoretical dialogue without practical cooperation.

Movement toward dialogue with Marxism has also occurred /in the Roman Catholic Church/ during the past two decades. Both Pius XI and Pius XII explicitly condemned Communism and prohibited the cooperation of Catholic Christians with Communists. In contrast, the encyclical "Pacem in Terris" (1963) of John XXIII considers the possibility of cooperation with all "men of good will". Vatican Council II does not explicitly mention the issue of Marxism, but many of the paragraphs in the pastoral letter "Gaudium et Spes" reflect on the questions and possibilities for dialogue. Paragraphs 19-22 state that Christian eschatological hope does not render wordly tasks insignificant. Believers and nonbelievers must work together to build this world, and honest and intelligent dialogue is necessary to achieve this. The letter deals with the issue of work and property and takes a stand on

the struggle against war siding with disarmament in such a manner that it concretely smooths the way towards dialogue (c.f., paragraphs 26, 29, 33-36, 42, 55, 71, 75, 77-82, 89-92).

In 1975, Pope Paul VI established the /"Secretariat for Nonbelievers"/ at the Vatican, the aim of which was to explore atheism and to prepare the dialogue between Christians and atheists.

The goal of the Secretariat for Nonbelievers was to urge and coordinate; the actual task of dialogue would be left to the various national churches. In 1968 and 1970, the Secretariat published two fundamental and authoritative documents. We can read in detail about the theory and practice of a possible dialogue in the 1968 document. This basic document distinguishes between three forms of dialogue: 1. Dialogue to overcome distrust and awaken mutual sympathy. 2. Meeting on the theoretical plane in the common search for truth. 3. Dialogue in the interest of common action while setting aside theoretical differences. Dialogue is not polemics, argument, missionary work or an experiment in proselytizing, although the parties must be convinced of their own truths and must also respect the convictions of the other. The document attempts to resolve the aphorism that no one is in possession of definitive truth, but rather all knowledge, thus also belief, is capable of developing during the course of history. Christian faith is also not in possession of fundamental knowledge which could provide definitive answers to questions which reside in the realm of "current" events, e.g., in the field of politics, economics, science and culture. Faith can only provide the believer with spirit and guidance which act as aids in the search for answers, e.g., in the area of ethics. For this reason it makes sense to have a dialogue even when there is only partial agreement on principles or where theory is set aside but there is practical agreement. In the case of Marxist-Christian dialogue, the suggestion that the theoretical and practical dialogues must be separated and that a theoretical dialogue should not turn into a practical dialogue carries significant weight. The question could be raised of whether only theoretical dialogue is possible with Marxism. The Vatican wishes to deal primarily with the question of atheism; however, the Marxists do not wish to become embroiled in this question. It could well be that presently the Marxist-Catholic dialogue seems to be suspended; nevertheless, taking into account the totality of Roman Catholic theological development after Vatican II, we can determine that there is every possibility for resolution both in theory and in practice.

Among the sectarian international federations the /International Lutheran Foundation/ has done notable work concerning the issue of Marxist-Christian dialogue. The International Lutheran Foundation surveyed the dialogue conducted by the member churches with special attention to Marxism in conferences held in Bossey, Switzerland (1975), Glion (1976) and Aarhus, Denmark (1977). The Aarhus statement with respect to the consequences and theoretical positions maintained is especially important to the research department of the world federation, which however does not attempt to represent an official view point, but only an indication of a step of an initiated process; nevertheless, it gives a representative picture of the federation's work

as it relates to dialogue. The Aarhus statement considers Marxism as connected to an economic, political and social ideological system where the struggle for the future of mankind is a major factor. /For this reason, the meeting of Christianity and Marxism is not only pressing, but also unavoidable./ The relationship between Marxism and Christianity lies in the area of social ideas; conflicts exist in the areas of the ultimate meaning of life, the explanation of human nature and the methods used to realize human coexistence. It correctly sees that a multitude of factors determines dialogue, i.e., geopolitics, cultural and local contexts, and some social class structures and their relation to the revolution. It sees the possibility for dialogue on both the theoretical and the practical planes, and the personal as well as institutional planes. This is theologically grounded in the fact of creation and the teaching of the duality of God's kingdom. It considers the institutional integrity of the church as the criterium for properly conducted dialogue. It distinguishes between four main ways to meet Marxism: withdrawal, opposition, conformity and critical relationship. Finally, it makes suggestions and critical comments concerning dialogues. The Aarhus statement places the dialogue of the Hungarian church under the "conformity" heading. It considers, as an example of the conduct of a critical relationship, the manner in which the situation developed in, for example, Italy, France or Norway. The world federation considers the coming together unavoidable; it does not talk about fruitful cooperation yet.

Nor must we forget the six symposia conducted under the auspices of the /International Peace Institute/ and the /Institute of Peace Research of the Theological Faculty of the Vienna University/ between 1971 and 1979 where the dialogue between Marxists and primarily Catholic theologians concerned the most important question of the day: peace. The main themes of these dialogues were the following: 1. The search for peace as seen from various ideological perspectives. 2. Tools and means to solve the problems of social development from the standpoint of various ideological perspectives. 3. Ideology and peace. 4. Peaceful coexistence and social progress. 5. Peaceful coexistence and the training of youth for peace. 6. The problem of disarmament from different ideological perspectives. These dialogues were open and honest exchanges and their content appearing in two volumes is quite provocative. But obviously, they merely wished to create a basis for mutual understanding. Jozsef Lukacs aptly shows the essence of the difference when he refers to the fact that even Paul XI cautions against "the Marxist spiritual practice of class warfare". Josef Lukacs rightfully points out that Christianity has its own plebian, class warfare traditions.

The report delivered by Professor Gyula Nagy at the dialogue in Debrecen points out that there are encouraging signs that Orthodoxy is stepping out of its structural exclusivity and will be prepared to connect practical with theoretical dialogue.

We would still be able to list different forms and occasions in various countries for dialogue between different Christian denominations and Marxists; however, with the above listing, we essentially recognize the major types of dialogues conducted in the recent past and present. It is my conviction that /a survey of the different types of dialogue reinforces the thesis that in contrast to these the dialogue in Debrecen qualitatively

raised the dialogue between Christians and Marxists to a new level/. The joining of theoretical dialogue with practical cooperation in the dialogue of Debrecen and altogether in the Hungarian dialogue of Protestants and Marxists occurs in such a way that it could serve as a model for dialogues between Christians and Marxists.

The dialogue in Debrecen was not without precedent, nor did it come about accidentally or randomly. It was established under the banner and as a result of three and a half decades of continually expanding and deepening cooperation. From the start this cooperation was also a dialogue, practical but at the same time also conducted on a theoretical level, though practical factors were in the forefront for a long time. Practical cooperation has two clearly distinguishable but inseparable areas: the building of socialism in our country and the preservation of peace on an international level. Fundamental theoretical decisions also had to be born so that this cooperation could be established and made lasting. Insofar as there are mutually exclusive fundamental differences in principle between the two parties, only a pragmatic and practicist type of relationship can be established where one party wishes to use the other to its advantage and in the interests of its goals. Continually deepening fruitful cooperation for both communities lies in their world views, politics and social theory--let us say it: in their ideologies. Obviously, common love for our country and averting the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe also spur us to cooperation. However, if we consider how many people all over the world are indifferent to even the greatest danger threatening mankind to date and are not spurred to cooperation, we must conclude that the basis for our cooperation reaches deeper, past formal altruistic conduct or practicist decisions determined by situations. The common root is the deep-seated (Marxist and Christian) humanist phenomena-complex which--although nourished by different sources--nevertheless meets /on the plane of service to mankind/ in the struggle for social justice. Self-criticism, / historical introspection and tolerance/ are all not foreign to this humanism.

Basically, this is what makes cooperation credible and makes both parties suitable to respond in a new way to the problems of human life and society which are formulated in ever newer forms, by discarding dogmatic rigidity. A few statements concerning basic principles from the speech of Undersecretary Imre Miklos introducing the dialogue should serve to illustrate the above thesis.

"In our country the unity of people of different world views, Marxists and religious citizens, is not purely theory. The coexistence of people with differing world views and, in close connection, their cooperation in the interests of social progress and peace has become an abjective, historical fact in the Hungarian Peoples' Republic.

In realizing its federal policy the Hungarian Workers' Party proceeds from the fact that this society is constituted of people with differing world views. Equally for both the state and the church, this is an objective condition which must be kept in mind concerning every theoretical or practical

step. During the past decades, the Marxist-Christian dialogue was developed within the framework of the organizational relationship by common responsibility and will. Initially, the resolution of great significant questions concerning the relationship between the churches and the state were in the forefront. This was followed by monologue where both parties essentially independently of one another expressed their opinions and assumptions about the world and the tasks serving to benefit it, in which, however, the preparedness for better understanding and the embryo of striving were contained. The Hungarian social scientists and Protestant theologians helped to dissolve this relatively long-lasting, delicate situation with their books, articles and studies concerning social and socio-ethical questions...The honest mutual interest and the need for becoming acquainted characterizes the theologians and Marxists who argued with each other but also, despite ideological differences, did not consider each other enemies."

It was after this kind of historical preparation that the dialogue in Debrecen was assembled, where the results of the discussion and cooperation conducted during the past 35 years were formulated.

/The first and most important question in dialogue is the clarification of the fundamental positions/. For this reason it is important that the parties participating in the dialogue also avoid the suspicion of the already soured convergence theory.

/Both parties in the dialogue expressed that neither wishes to renounce its fundamental position/: the Marxists starting out from the basic principles of dialectical historical materialism and the Protestants from a reformatory theology are prepared to search for "analogies" and agreements in the interests of "common thinking" and cooperation. Starting out from this fundamental position on principles, we searched for the possibilities and limits of dialogue. In order that the parties conducting the dialogue would be able to say something different as compared to what had already been stated before, the Marxists had to reach back to the interpolation of religion by the luminaries of Marxism and the Protestants to the Bible. (We interpret the Bible not as a collection of dogmas but as a point of orientation; we mean the spirit rather than the letter of the Bible,)

Since Imre Janossy gave a detailed account of the symposium on religious theory and dialogue in the 1982/1 issue of /Confessio/, here I will only summarize those conclusions which qualitatively raise the dialogue to a new level. Although the conference did not issue a communique, an agreement of opinion did not occur and it is possible that not all the participants agreed with what had transpired, it is certain that the fundamental theses stated by both parties provide a suitable basis for continuing the dialogue.

/The Marxist philosophers emphasized that religion is more than only an idealistic world view./ Religion is a complex phenomenon with important social repercussions. It may well be that it is a form of human alienation, but it could also serve as a tool in the battle against alienation.

The Protestants on the other hand again noted that Marxism is /more than "atheism"/. Marxism is a complex social phenomenon in which atheism is comprised of humanist factors./ Protestants acknowledge the legitimacy of the socialist revolution and concurrently actually decided to side with the plebian revolutionary tradition of Christianity/ which is similar to the notion of class warfare. As a matter of fact, this is the "punctum saliens" of every Christian political position. This is what Jozsef Lukacs asked of the symposium of the International Peace Institute and that of the Vienna University Peace Research Institute. To the best of my knowledge, this kind of position has not yet been voiced in Marxist-Christian dialogue.

Besides honoring the convictions and different interpretations of the others, the /acknowledgment of each others' ethical values/ becomes possible./ The Marxists formulated that religion, besides being a fundamental element of social theory, /could also contain socio-ethical values of a progressive nature/. However, Protestants acknowledge that /religious reforms/ thus the Reformation, are not only determined by "the history of ideas" but are 'historically and socially inspired phenomena/. /Faith and science/ are not necessarily mutually exclusive but rather could exist in a complementary relationship. "The reflection of faith is not science but skepticism." Similarly, Marxists voiced the following formulation on faith: "Faith as a phenomenon of the manifestation of human life is not some mistake or dead end, negative from the start by its nature, a braking force/ (emphasis added), but rather a necessary element of theologically structural human activity which does not originate in religion, although it is specific in it, and which shows trends diverging from beliefs that exist in other forms of life activity within the ultimate oneness." Finally, the question arises: /What is the dividing line between Marxists and Christians?/ "...the fundamental dividing line is not drawn between Marxists and Christians but rather on /one/ side there are the Marxists and Christians, and on the other, those who do not wish to accord any sort of hope of realization to the human essence, but...reject every higher ideal concerning individual and historical prospects for human existence."

Christians and Marxists owe each other and themselves to intensely study their common historical and cultural background, the Hebrew-Greek-Roman Christian culture, while the Marxists and Protestants should examine their common hegelian heritage. No doubt we could discover even more analogies, indeed also many structural agreements, on this road. If we survey the whole of religious history, we could hazard the statement that Christianity is more distant from every other religion (except Judaism), e.g., in a socio-ethical context, than from Marxism. Naturally, I am only comparing Marxism as a system of thought to the philosophical content of different religions.

We are pleased with the results of the dialogue in Debrecen and we hope that in its correctness it will serve as a viable path to dialogue between other denominations and Marxists in other countries. We trust that it will be continued since Bishop Tibor Bartha, president of the "Collegium Doctorum" organization of the Reformed Church, invited the conference to another turn. Upon seeing the results, however, we should not fall into dialogue-enthusiasm.

We are not at the end of the road but at its beginning. We must always keep reality and the possibilities in mind. People are sometimes separated by many decades of conscious difference. Understandably, Imre Miklos correctly cautions: "Our common task is to overcome the unjustified impatience directed toward the dialogue as well as the distrust directed against constructive dialogue." Most importantly, we must never forget that dialogue exists not for its own sake but for cooperation to achieve concrete and common goals.

9956
CSO: 2500/349

POLISH YOUTH UNIONS ISSUE DECLARATION ON BEIRUT MASSACRE

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] The youth and student unions comprising the Commission for Mutual International Contacts have with horror received the news of the savage crime committed against defenseless Palestinian refugees in West Beirut by fighting squads of the Lebanese right, under the protection of and with the consent of the illegal occupiers of the Arab lands--the Israeli Army. This unprecedented act, worthy of the greatest moral and political condemnation, evokes in us repugnance, anger, and resolute opposition.

The doctrine and policy which led to these insane acts of brutality in Beirut, acts which are an affront to human dignity, are no different than the most degenerate form of imperialism and fascism in its worst hitlerite form.

Deeply shocked by the tragedy of the Palestinian people, who have been sentenced to extermination by Zionism, we also blame this crime on those who could have prevented it and did not do so, but rather supported the preparations for it materially and politically.

The words of condemnation for the new acts of genocide in Beirut that are expressed by the representatives of the administration of President Regan do not change the fact that political responsibility for these crimes is borne precisely by the United States, which for years has extended multilateral support to the aggressive policy of Israel. Summoning the memory of the tragedy of our own people, who remained unbowed under the fascist German yoke, we direct our hearts and minds to the entire Palestinian people; victory will come to You.

We resolutely and decidedly demand an end to the expansionist policy of Israel, and the immediate cessation of Israel's occupation of Lebanon, in accordance with the decision of the UN Security Council.

We call upon all progressive and democratic youth of Europe and the world to increase their activities of solidarity with the Palestinian people, who are struggling under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization for their right to existence and the establishment of their own independent state.

The Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP]

The Polish Scout Union [ZHP]

The Rural Youth Union [ZMW]

The Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]

CSO: 2600/9

POLAND

MOSCOW PAPER INTERVIEWS PZPR'S HARAZIM

PM130915 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee member and First Secretary of the "Niwka-Modrzejow" Mine Party Committee in Kwatowice Voivodship Boleslaw Harazim by own correspondent Yu. Orlik: "Without Allowances for Youth"-- date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Katowice-Warsaw--[Question] A PZPR Central Committee plenum devoted to youth problems was held recently. You took part in it and spoke in the debate. What can you say about young people's feelings today, in the summer of 1982 in Poland?

[Answer] I often meet with young people. This is both a secretary's duty and simply an emotional need. I devoted many years to the youth movement and I owe it a great deal. The youth organization recommended me as a party member, helped me graduate from technical college (I was combining work and studies) and taught me not to give in the face of difficulties and to trust in a friend's help. And I am interested in the way today's 20-year-olds live, what they think and what they desire. I will admit that recent conversations with them have left me with contradictory feelings. The problem is not that the years are slipping by and people now see many things differently. The age difference is not the problem. What worries me is the confusion and political disorientation of a section of the young people. I am worried by the spirit of parasitism and consumerism eating away like rust at the will to act, to transform, to improve the world that has always been characteristic of the generation embarking on life. I will come to the reasons later. But irrespective of the explanations, I cannot accept the formula "the lost generation" or "crisis generation" that some of my opponents among the young people agree with, alas.

Yes, young people now are indeed starting out in difficult conditions. There is the economic recession and the decline in the level of prosperity--natural consequences of life on credit and of solidarity's destructive actions. But no generation gets everything readymade. Each makes its contribution to the wealth of the whole people.

My generation embarked on adult life immediately after the war. There was real trouble then. The country was in ruins. People were on the point of

exhaustion. Happiness was a piece of bread. My father returned from a concentration camp (I carefully keep his documents bearing the camp numbers Auschwitz-107517, Mauthausen-33752) worn out and ill. But he went to work at the mine and went down to the coal face. There were six children in the family. We went around in old clothes and slept together. At 15 I too was installed in a job.

I know arguments based on personal experience are not always convincing. Children have got to live better than their fathers. I'm merely objecting to the reproaches leveled at the older generation--see what a situation it has reduced the country to. We raised this tormented country from its ruins. We built plants, hospitals, schools. Only a blind person can fail to see what we have created, what socialism has created. Or a person misled by hostile propaganda. The doors were open wide to that in the period between August 1980 and December 1981. Socialism, its values and its potential were distorted and denigrated. Western subversive centers and the homegrown counterrevolutionaries from KSS-KOR and KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and the solidarity extremists cooperated particularly closely in this dirty work. But we party members are to blame too for poorly explaining the principles, essence and gains of socialism to young people. So they were susceptible to demagoguery. The 13th of December was a turning point in Poland's development. The measures taken by the authorities ended the orgy of the counterrevolutionary forces and the massive indoctrination of young people in an antisocialist spirit. The crisis began to be overcome. But this process is long, complex and not without contradictions.

[Question] In one publication I read the following admission by a young worker from the Ursus Tractor Plant: "Socialism...what does it mean? It is a few socialist countries with similar systems and similar troubles. Socialism is not an ideology for me. Under capitalism or under socialism each person wants the same things: to earn a wage, eat, sleep and live decently. So I don't see any special difference...."

[Answer] That is a very vivid example of a confused world outlook and evidence that social, class criteria have already been eroded in that young person's mind. Solidarity's Mazowsze regional headquarters was at the Ursus plant, as is well known, Bujak and Janas delivered their ranting speeches particularly often there. This young worker had clearly swallowed their sermons. So there you have a young guy turned into a readymade doubledealer. What does he care about ideology--so long as he eats well and sleeps as much as he likes. He will not lift a finger for other people, for society. The paradox of solidarity, incidentally, is that--despite its name--it did not unite people but disunited them and extirpated the sense of collectivism and mutual assistance from people's hearts. It accustomed people to the thought that they need only take from the state, from society, without giving anything in return. These sentiments are tenacious and are bound to cause concern. I will cite a particular example--the dispute that erupted over loans for young families. I often heard young people say: The loan is too small, you can't buy a color television, a top-class hi-fi, an automatic washing machine with it. But excuse me, why at the very start of family life have you absolutely got to have a color television and a super stereo tape

recorder? Can't you start more modestly? The state treasury is not a bottomless barrel. You can't shift all your personal material concerns onto society.

The government has now formulated a program for improving young people's start in life and in their occupation and is taking vigorous measures to solve the housing problem. But unless young people participate actively and work selflessly, you cannot fulfill these plans.

[Question] Everything seems to show that you take an exacting and critical approach toward assessing youth organizations' activity.

[Answer] I would be more specific: an exacting and critical approach toward the activity of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] primary organizations in certain enterprises. Alas, I have grounds for doing this. I have been to plants and mines where life in the youth organizations was almost at a standstill. The staff personnel alone were trying to do something; the aktiv stayed on the sidelines. But you cannot solve a single important problem without the support of your contemporaries and those who share your views.

I remember my youth. The country needed coal--and at the call of the youth organization thousands of young miners went down to the coal face on Sundays and holidays. The secretary was the first to go. And after the shift we went on to construct a stadium, a shooting range, a swimming pool. We didn't wait for the funds, the equipment, the materials to be allocated for the purpose. In the seventies we partly lost this enthusiasm. Young people's ideological and labor education--they always go hand in hand--was relegated to the background. The participants in the PZPR Central Committee Plenum spoke with concern of the fact that youth organizations spent the lion's share of their time organizing evening entertainments, discotheques and tourist excursions and in general engaged in social, cultural and everyday activities, although they were called political, ideological education organizations.

We have to get away from that sort of practice. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. The SZMP-organized debate "What Kind of Poland, What Kind of Union?" was political in nature. Organizations are seriously raising the question of the need for the more profound and systematic study of Marxism-Leninism by young people. For it is a paradox that many young people became acquainted with the theory of socialism not from original sources but from the critique of socialism in the "works" of oppositionists of every stripe.... A program entitled "Young People in the Reform" has been formulated and youth organizations' participation in solving the housing problem is increasing in scale. But, I repeat, these are only the first steps. It is the work of more than a day to overcome the crisis in the economy. Even more so for that in people's minds. Especially when you consider that the counterrevolution has not laid down its arms. Relying on the support of western subversive centers, the enemies of socialism are trying to prevent the normalization of the situation in the country, are inciting young people to sabotage and street riots and are threatening from

the underground a general strike and reprisals against "collaborationists," as they call those who are helping straighten things out in their own home-- that is, the majority of the people.

[Question] You also touched on the topic of the Polish church in your speech at the plenum.

[Answer] I grew up in a religious family. My mother was particularly devout. My first books were a Psalter and the Gospels. The books on socialism only came later. But in general my world outlook was formed not by books but by life. Poland's resurrection from the ashes of war was for me more miraculous than the Bible legends. People accomplished it. My mother for a long time could not reconcile herself to the fact that an "unbeliever" was growing up in her family. When I got an apartment (a small room with a small kitchen) she brought an image of Saint Joseph and wanted to hang it on the wall. I forbade her to, tactfully but pretty emphatically. There was I, a young party member, at the time Union of Socialist Youth secretary at the mine, and I believed I shouldn't have one faith for show and another for home consumption. I still think that. To be a communist is to be a person of materialist convictions. I will not accept claims of the following type: the church deals with eternal questions and the party with temporal questions, and the one is no impediment to the other.

At the plenum I said that under the conditions of acute political struggle, some people had moved away from the party. At the same time there had been an influx of young people into the church. This should be investigated: why is this happening? This is not only a philosophical question, but also a practical question. Remember that the street riots in June and August of this year, in which young men stupefied by hostile propaganda took part, began after the end of church services. In their sermons the priests had urged people to pray for the internees. For those who were pushing the country into the abyss? No, not all of them deserved absolution. Not all of them have abandoned ideas of reversing events. But the church is taking them under its wing. Is it motivated by charity alone? Maybe by a desire to make political capital as well, by a desire to maintain tension in the soviet-authorities sphere? None of these are idle questions for a party member, I repeat.

[Question] But let us return to the main topic of our conversation. During the debate before the plenum which was said about the need to expand the representation of young people in the organs of people's power and to promote young people more boldly to leading posts.

[Answer] That is a necessary condition of the development of socialist democracy. Incidentally, in its resolution the plenum recognized the need to expand youth organizations' rights. But a quantitative increase in the seats for young people on representative organs does not in itself resolve the question. What is far more important is how the younger generation uses its civic rights and how active the young people's elected representatives are. For instance, over 18,000 young deputies, or 17 percent of the number of representatives, currently sit in people's councils at all levels. But is their voice sufficiently heard, do they put forward interesting new

initiatives, do they maintain contact with their voters, do they keep their finger on the pulse of life? Here is another example mentioned at the plenum. One in four state administration personnel is aged under 30. When it comes to the voivodship administration, it is one in three. But there is little evidence that things go better or that red tape, bureaucracy and a lack of consideration for people vanish from institutions wherever "young people rule." That is not a reproach of young people, but merely a statement of fact indicating that young people need to learn how to administer and to be a servant of the state.

Youth organizations are faced with complex tasks today. The most important and vital of these is to mobilize the young generation to strengthen the socialist gains in the country.

CSO: 1807/169

'RAZEM' DISCUSSES NEED FOR UNITY AMONG YOUTH GROUPS

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 18, 22 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Leszek Gontarski, editor in chief of RAZEM: "RAZEM [Together] for a Common Cause"]

[Text] The dissolution of the "federation" was accepted with relief in the youth movement. The question, "Of what use is the federation?" was answered with "none" or "time will tell." Despite the awareness that youth unions need to cooperate on many issues, their experiences with the previous structure ["federation"] were enough to be a deterrent. Again, time turned out to be the best medicine. Youth unions have proclaimed themselves in favor of the creation of a commission which would regulate the principles of cooperation and would serve the working out of common attitudes toward the most important problems and issues which concern the young generation. Discussion is continuing on the subject of who forms the commission and on what basis. On the occasion of this important decision for the youth movement, it is impossible to avoid discussion on the subject: Of what use is unity for young people and whether it can be achieved. Unity, not on the basis of imposed unanimity of opinion or applauding that which is proposed by the older generation, as it had been understood previously, but unity in the name of common goals and causes which, whether we want to perceive it or not, do and will continue to exist.

1. Unity for the purpose of settling issues and for the determination of the social needs of particular youth groups. This argument appears in first place for a reason. It is no longer a mystery for anyone today that coming out of the crisis in which our country finds itself will take several years. A high price will have to be paid for this return to stability. This is not, in any case, a matter of tightening one's belt. The extent of this price will depend on how quickly we learn to live anew. The burden will fall on all of society, however, it should be expected that it will affect its young generation most severely--that young part of society which is starting out on the road to adult social and professional life; the generation which needs jobs, housing,

culture and recreation. We do not like to refer to statistical data currently, however, demographic predictions for the ninth decade indicate that during that time, there will constantly be between 6.5 to 7.5 million citizens ranging from 19 to 29 years of age; that from this population, there will be 2.5 million marriages at that time and that this population will produce 6 million children. Whether we like statistics or not, we must take these predictions into account and what's more, we should always bear them in mind, for behind these numbers there will be people with their needs.

2. Unity for the purpose of conducting a uniform instructional policy. This represents looking at the young generation from the adult point of view but also from the point of view of the interests of the particular unions which, after all, function in various communities. The youth movement is one of the strongest instructional links in the chain of this type of institution. (I am intentionally avoiding the expression, upbringing front because this term has been without meaning for a long time and certain instructional institutions do not form any front except for one--avoiding work of any kind.) With sound cooperation and a good program, youth unions stand a chance of becoming the bonding agent which will unite and put order into the uncoordinated activity of other educators..

3. Unity for the purpose of specifying the attitude of the young generation toward socialism. Youth, and this is confirmed by various surveys, is in favor of the development of the political system secured by their fathers. In our country, socialism is so generally accepted that even its most ardent opponents perceive its realities and do not propose other political systems to youth. However, the acceptance of socialism does not mean unanimity of opinion in respect to the direction of its development and major social and political issues.

4. Unity for the building of the intellectual strength of the young generation. The various unions will always function in specific communities. Young laborers have their own specific matters, so do young farmers; the academic student community is characteristic in its affairs as is the community of younger students [grade and secondary school]. However, this diversity of issues and specificity does not divide the young generation at all because there is something that unites them--youth, therefore, identical or similar problems facing adolescence and the problems of starting out into adulthood; the same or similar interests; the desire to have a good time and finally, the same ambitions and aspirations. The strength of the young generation and in the future society has depended and will depend on its integration, on the interpenetration of outlooks and interests as well as on the strengthening of its intellect. A plane must be found on which the young generation will be able to exchange ideas and support each other in order to reach some sort of similar conclusions. There must be dialogue; matters cannot be allowed to flutter about in the air. A young person must feel he can rely on someone; members must feel the support of their unions but a union can turn out to be too narrow a field.

5. Representative unity. It is the result of, at times, domestic but more often foreign exigencies. There are any number of situations in which all

the unions, the youth movement as a whole, ought to be represented. Such are the traditions, customs and needs.

To assert that the entire young generation thinks and acts alike would be not to notice the realities of social and political life. However, it is very differentiated, as perhaps never before, and what is most important, young people do not always want to believe each other or others. To overcome this distrust, which constitutes a serious social obstacle, is a task not only for institutions which concern themselves with the upbringing of youth or which work together with youth but is also a task for youth itself, therefore, for the unions to which considerable numbers of them belong. The recent decisions of the party and of the government indicate that young people are at the center of attention and that their problems are regarded as very important. This is not only a matter of everyday social affairs where much has been done so that during these months of crisis, the start of young people on the road to professional or family life could be as uncomplicated as possible. For the first time, young people have been looked at as a powerful age group which has a strong influence on the shape and behavior of society. And even though, from the sociological point of view, this group is not uniform, its right to share in authority has been recognized, and in decisionmaking about what concerns not only young people. Unity among youth is becoming so important for that reason as well as for its similar though, after all, not identical, outlook on the problems which Polish society must overcome.

The creation of a plane of cooperation among socialist youth unions in such a context takes on a completely different meaning because this is not the desire to create a new, nonunion structure which would be more or less active but a necessity resulting from the realities of social life which includes young people as well. We have written about this necessity numerous times in RAZEM, therefore, some of the above remarks are a reassertion of our position of a year ago. For this reason, we greet the new phase of cooperation among youth unions with great hope.

9853
CSO: 2600/884

COVERAGE OF YOUTH ACTIVITY AFTER NINTH PLENUM CONTINUED

Scout Commander Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, commander in chief of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] by PAP correspondent Wojciech Kazmierczak: "Stay on Course"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Did the PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum fulfill the Boy Scout movement's expectations, and what are the organization tasks after the plenum?

[Answer] We did not expect that this very important plenum would prepare a new program and activity guidelines for us and on our behalf, or that we would get some kind of far-reaching colorful promises from the party. However, we did expect that our general policy would be confirmed, a policy, that simplified, can be reduced to two points. First, the ZHP is an organization in the Polish youth movement that represents specific values based on what is now 70 years of experience and that it brings youth up in the ideals of service to the fatherland, and creates various opportunities for spontaneous social activity for it, beginning with the youngest. Secondly, that the scout movement, a multigenerational and multienvironmental organization operating primarily among school youth, will, to an ever greater extent, continue to represent the interests and aspirations of school youth, and fulfill the subjectivity of school youth. This general policy of ours was confirmed by the party in the course of the plenum and in the plenum resolution. Our thinking of youth as a category of citizens that, above all, should be giving to society of itself on its own and not expecting privileges and rights, was confirmed. We are pleased that the plenum's resolution strongly stressed the role of youth unions in the implementation of the plenum's decisions, that youth union independence and self-government, as well as the parity and equal rights of all socialist youth associations was emphasized. And finally, we boy scouts are particularly pleased by the declaration in the resolution on the right to pass judgment on state administration decisions concerning youth problems, participation in legislative work pertaining to youth, and legislative initiative. We want to and will take advantage of all of these rights.

The PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum did not impose new tasks and responsibilities on the ZHP. Our basic responsibility is to consistently implement

the resolutions of the Seventh Congress and ZHP Supreme Council, particularly those that concern the advocacy of school youth problems. We also have responsibility to continue the renovation process in ZHP. We got the green light from the plenum for these tasks, and intend to take advantage of the opportunities that this opened up. Currently, the most important thing is the functioning of basic ZHP elements: troops--cub, boy scout and senior scout. This is a condition of the effectiveness of the ideological upbringing of children and youth constituting the foundation and base of our activity. However, our instructor circles, our senior scout movement, and scout movement authorities at all levels, have greater opportunities than ever to represent youth, being in constant direct contact with it, and to satisfy its needs and aspirations. We must consider how we are going to take advantage of the rights to pass judgment and to discuss decisions so that they would not be a matter of participation by only a narrow group of the leadership aktiv. It is necessary to improve the way in which youth's opinions on important problems are learned, in short, a system of studying youth. To be sure there are more tasks like that. However, speaking briefly, the general task is: "Stay on course."

Young Warsaw Workers Polled

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18 Aug 82 p 4

[Article, with responses collected by WC, Jac, JW: "Something Stirred"]

[Text] A month after the conclusion of the PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum deliberations dedicated to youth problems, we visited several Warsaw work establishments in order to ask members of the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union], what, in their opinion, has changed in their plants since the plenum.

Krysztof Prosowski of the Warsaw Iron and Steel Works asserts that meetings with the party organization and plant administration are taking place in a different atmosphere than in the past. It is apparent that there is a desire to help and to prompt youth.

"Among others, we received a proposal linked to the construction of single-family homes," says K. Prosowski. "A Youth Construction Cooperative is being formed at the plant, although we are still waiting for the settlement of a series of formalities associated with it.

"We were also offered an opportunity to conduct a review of work posts in departments which would make possible the creation of a supplementary leadership cadre. We are also conducting discussions with the management to resolve certain problems involving the compensation of young people. People employed in the same kind of position, who have the same kind of education and the same scope of responsibilities should receive the same remuneration, while the period of service should have an affect only on the service supplement."

Similarly, in other establishments, young ZSMP members say that "something stirred." Zbigniew Saracyn of the Nowotko Mechanical Works says that an analysis of youth's material situation was conducted in their works for the purpose of developing a wage-cadre policy. However, he also adds that despite the fact that 30 percent of the plant's workers have left because of pensions and retirements, promotions of young people are not at all easy. It was possible to force young people into a few foreman positions but that still is always too little.

However, insofar as a change in the situation in general is concerned, youth feels differently. Zenon Zagrodnik of the Ursus Mechanical Works asserts that youth's voice is beginning to be heard on many problems but at the same time adds:

"There are no major changes in the department. There is a lack of machinery and people. We make 'trifles' in our department, but no one works 8 hours--either there is nothing to do, or when material is delivered it is necessary to go from one machine to another. Workers are dissatisfied because a departure from one's own post of work means a smaller income."

Also, all speakers say that there still are too many bureaucratic regulations that hamper youth's promotion and initiative. This pertains particularly to housing construction and wages. Roman Kalinowski of the Nowotko Mechanical Works also suggests that patronage construction not be abandoned.

"I do not deny the need for the development of single-family construction but I consider that many young people cannot afford that form of construction at this moment. I am afraid that if we do away with patronage construction, the construction development programs adopted to the year 1990 might not be implemented. Besides, I believe that form has one virtue--everybody can prove himself by his own effort, and get a place of his own to live in the course of 5 years."

It is also emphasized in the responses that in the coming weeks young people will be meeting with the party organization and plant management to thoroughly analyze what has been done to date and what it is being planned to do in the near future. Problems associated with a change in wages, whose reform is to take place beginning in 1983, promotion of young people and housing will dominate.

SZSP Vice Chairman Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20-22 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with the vice chairman of the Supreme Council, Socialist Polish Student Union (SZSP) Ireneusz Nawrocki, by PAP: "New Possibilities and Tasks"; date and place not given]

[Text] A month after the conclusion of the PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum dedicated to problems of the young generation, Ireneusz Nawrocki, vice chairman of the Supreme

Council of the Socialist Polish Student Union (SZSP) talks about the union's role and tasks.

"The PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum was a necessary political fact. The value of the discussion conducted before and at the plenum as well as of the final decisions depend on their implementation, and their consonance with reality perceived by society, including young people. Thus, the main condition of the effectiveness of every social program was fulfilled--not leaving the realities of the present and immediate future behind.

"The SZSP noted the resolution statements with satisfaction--statements that support what has been and is unusually important for our union. I have in mind the independence and autonomy of youth unions on the one hand, and, on the other, their parity and possession of equal rights. Referring to the Ninth Plenum's decisions, we develop activities that serve to resolve student problems by the group itself. We adopt that direction of thinking and activity as the primary basis of the educational work of the SZSP. The plenum resolution, I believe, will be helpful in the rapid implementation of many useful initiatives and ideas in the economic activity of the SZSP.

"We frequently come up against questions in our union about guarantees for implementation of the plenum's decisions, and the government's program for improving professional and life-start conditions. These questions are, of course, natural in the context of recent experiences. Fortunately, guarantees are also contained in the resolution. They are proposals that grant youth unions legislative initiative, the power to pass judgment on administration programs, and social review of decisions undertaken. One thing is noncontroversial--the principal guarantee must be the activity of youth itself, both organized and unorganized youth.

"New possibilities and new tasks for the SZSP emerge from all of the broad social discussions about the young generation initiated by the party. Of the specific problems--there are the questions of the higher school keeping up with its programs, instruction and new standards of economic practice and social life. We must also concern ourselves with equalizing the disproportions in the system of material aid for students, problems of new mechanisms for the employment of graduates and opportunities for the professional and intellectual development of young people.

"The Ninth Plenum was one of the important stimuli for understanding. Through its specific proposals it creates an opportunity for joint activity by youth. On its part, the SZSP extends its hand to the entire youth community and to all who wish to be active in solving their own as well as national affairs and problems."

10433
CSO: 2600/897

IDEAS OF CONTROVERSIAL MARXIST PHILOSOPHER REVIEWED

Bucharest AMFITEATRU in Romanian May 82 p 9

[Article by Mihai Milca]

[Text] A nearly inexplicable paradox, one hard to accept, no matter how strange it seems, accompanies reception of the philosophical work of Georg Lukacs in his maturity, in the last period of his theoretical creation in the 60's and early 70's. "Estetica" ("Aesthetics") and, in particular, "Ontologia Existentei Sociale" ("Ontology of Social Existence")--this opus magnum of Lukacs' thought intended to crown an exceptional intellectual career in the Marxism of the 20th century, at least by stretching out in time the consistency of philosophical discourse--seem more readily to be the subject of a conventional cult, of a ceremonial and obliging invocation rather than of an analytical and comprehensive lesson. "Ontology" perhaps on another scale and in another register reproduces the fate of the author himself, his tensions, the sinuousities, the successive reconsiderations which marked Lukacs' "road" to Marx with an unmistakable stamp and the impact of Lukacs' work at the level of modern philosophical awareness. Throughout the years Lukacs showed probably more than any other philosopher around Marxist thought a constant and profound attachment to the immortal spirit of Marxism. Lukacs is the exponent of a tradition of philosophical thought for whom fidelity to Marx and Marxism is not measured by the degree of orthodox obedience compared with the letter of Marxist texts but rather by a lucid assumption of errors and limits, sometimes not lacking critical and self-critical bitterness. For Michael Lowy, one of the most competent and authoritative commentators on Lukacs' works, the "Lukacs case" is a typical example, the generator of what could be called "a sociology of revolutionary intellectuals" in our century. The theoreticians of "western Marxism" do not cease insisting that Lukacs is the legitimate precursor. However, it is no less true that an entire process of strengthening of Marxism in the socialist countries in eastern Europe following Stalin's death, "dedogmatization" of Marxist philosophy and "redialecticalization" of it recognize in Lukacs a promoter and, in his works, a model worth following.

Ontology was fated in Lukacs' concept to close the loop of a philosophical labor started even before World War I, at the same time as the appearance of the work entitled "Die Seele und Die Formen" (1911). The discovery of Marxism gave Lukacs' thought a decisive change in trajectory. Through all the biographical information and circumstances of his spiritual formation, the young Lukacs initially

seemed to be an incarnation of "the traditional intellectual," of whom Gramsci spoke at one time. Lukacs concentrated in his thought--influenced by the echoes of neo-Kantianism (Rickert, Lask) and German neoromanticism, irresistably attracted by Russian mysticism (Tolstoi, Dostoievski) and by Nietzsche, sensitized by the lectures and works of masters such as Max Weber and Georg Simmel--a dramatic tension between Sein and Sollen, between existence, the existence subject to law and the standard, the duty to be. In a powerfully individualized intellectual experience, Lukacs republished the tragic rupture of the awareness belonging to an entire tradition of thought in German philosophy and culture, his tragic view of the world, actually expressing the unsolvable conflict between ethical-cultural values to which Lukacs, through his entire structure, was deeply attached and the real universe, the reign of capitalist de-humanization in a society subordinate to the laws of the production of goods, massification and alienation of the individual.

In a late confession in 1969, inserted in the preface to the volume entitled "Magyar Irodalom, Magyar Kultura," Lukacs characterized the era preceding the world war as an "era of perfect culpability" (zeitalter der vollendeten sundhaftigkeit).

It is extremely significant that in the case of the young Lukacs, as well as in that of the young Marx, moral insurrection and ethical protest precede any ambition for working out a methodology of historical and sociological analysis of reality. Approaching the verses of Ady Endre, Lukacs at the particular time considered himself a "missionary of the veto," he "felt the world" before "understanding" it. His spiritual world "was moving, slowly but more and more decisively toward the belief that the internal change in man is the seat for social change, that ethics is superior methodologically to the philosophy of history" (Gyorgy Lukacs, "Litterature Hongroise, Culture Hongroise" in L'HOMME ET LA SOCIETE No 43-44, 1977, p 13). The meeting with Ernst Bloch, against this background powerfully marked with moral refusal and awareness of the cultural crisis before the implacable advance of the technical, industrial and highly bureaucratized civilization, strengthens the messianic predispositions of the young Lukacs. The proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils in 1919 completes an irreversible process of conversion to Marxism through direct implication of philosophy in the tumultuous revolutionary events, a process which for a rather long period still kept its moral vibrancy, its initial ethical propensity. At the beginning of 1918 Lukacs still was moved by an ethical, radical idealism of Kantian inspiration or Fichtean: "Ethical idealism," the young Hungarian philosopher stated, "is a permanent revolution against the existing one as existing, as something which does not reach his ethical ideal; and because it is a permanent revolution, because it is an absolute revolution, it is capable of defining and correcting the orientation and march of true progress, that which never reaches the balancing point" (G. Lukacs, "Idealisme, Conservateur et Idealisme Progressiste" in Michael Lowy's "Pour Une Sociologie des Intellectuels Revolutionnaires." L'evolution Politique de Lukacs 1909-1929," Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1976 p 306). The ethical puritanism of the young Lukacs fascinated by the development of the Bolshevik revolution but who still refused the idea of political compromise, challenging the "impure" methods to achieve certain "pure" goals, is found in a peremptory form, revealing the irreconcilable divorce between Sein and Sollen in the article entitled "Bolshevism

as a Moral Problem" published in December 1918. The dilemma bothering Lukacs lies in the torturous question: Can something be reached which is "good" by "bad" methods, can liberty be achieved through oppression? Lukacs believed that Bolshevism was based on a "metaphysical" hypothesis: good can result from something bad, being possible as one of Dostoievski's characters stated that you can reach the truth by lying. He refused to share the idea that a new world can be born when the means for achieving it do not differ basically but merely from a technical viewpoint, from detested and despised means of the old world. Together with support for the communist party and deeper involvement in revolutionary political activity, Lukacs clarifies his options. The article entitled "Tactics and Ethics" (1919) revealingly reflect the fast changes occurring in the thinking of the young Lukacs, crystallizing with this occasion his basic ideas on the relationship between end and means. A dialectical shading then is felt and this later would open the way for a renewed vision of the rise of the revolutionary process: "Marxist theory of the class struggle, which from this viewpoint completely follows Hegelian conceptualization, changes the transcending goal into an immanent goal: The class struggle of the proletariat is a goal in itself and, at the same time, achievement of it" (M. Lowy, op. cit., p 167). Defeat of the Hungarian revolution and the experience of his exile in Vienna at the start of the 20's channels Lukacs' thinking onto a path on which exaltation of dialectics and leftist lack of repentance, the refusal of parliamentarism and of bureaucratic rigidity for revolutionary energy become true obsessive themes. We should specify that Lukacs' orientation, lacking ambiguity on the problems of Hegelian dialectics, is not alien to a temptation which at the particular time did not escape either Lenin or Korsch or other Marxist thinkers who sharply felt the blockage of the positivist mechanicism and usurping of the place of dialectics from Marxist philosophy by a certain spirit desiring comfortable certainty, being situated at the border of the truths discovered at one time by Marx, truths reiterated dogmatically in an "orthodox" discourse which is not far from the original model in the least. The glowing appeals to the offensive, to action, rejection of the restraints imposed on democracy and authoritarianism of any kind which the young Lukacs formulated at the beginning of the 20's in the magazine KOMMUNISMUS bring out a striking similarity of views with Rosa Luxemburg, at least with regard to the relationship between spontaneity and organization in the revolutionary movement. In certain regards keeping a distance from Rosa's concepts, however, is produced within a short time in 1921, following failure of the March action of the German communists, a fact contributing to Lukacs' acceptance of the Leninist viewpoint on the problem of organization. In 1923 appears one of the most important of Lukacs' philosophical contributions, the masterpiece of his creative period of his youth, a reference work for Hegelian Marxism of the 20's: "Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein" (History and Class Awareness). The book is a compendium of the revolutionary historical experience of 1917-1923. The problem concerning Lukacs, as stressed by L. Goldmann, is the problem of conciliation of the exactingness of "a spontaneously revolutionary force, an internal force of the existing society (philosophically speaking: the idea of the partial identity of the subject and object), with the acceptance (which Lukacs as well as Lenin and Gramsci later could not even imagine being brought into discussion) of the Bolshevik party, centralized and hierarchicized as an effective form of organization through the excellence of the revolutionary movement" (L. Goldmann, "A Propos de 'Histoire et Conscience de Classe'" in L'HOMME ET LA SOCIETE No 43,44, p 62). Postulating "orthodoxy" toward Marxism as a problem purely of method, understanding by

this the resorting to dialectics, Lukacs is concerned with discovering, through the intermediary of the idea of subject-collective, the idea that social classes are the single collective, historical subject. This idea actually is the very basis and essence, the specific quality of the Marxist concept of history and society. Lukacs is profoundly attached to the idea of totality in "History and Class Awareness." Totality is viewed as a process of social and historical experience in its totality and movement, being demonstrated in its fulness as the class struggle.

Another basic category of the Lukacs discourse is that of mediating or mediation, which represent "the link between the immediateness absorbed in present reality and the totality in becoming, the means of the process of permanent surpassing" (see K. Axelos, "Preface" to G. Lukacs' "History and Class Awareness," Edition de Minuit, Paris 1960 p 7). On the basis of this concept Lukacs claims for the party of the proletariat a privileged role in the rising revolutionary process; the party gives form to the working class' awareness, making it possible to move from immediateness in totality, unifying theory and practice in an indestructible alloy. The party is the "total conscious will." Similarly Gramsci also was to define the party's role--this "modern collective prince," the storehouse and catalyst of the proletariat's revolutionary energy. The problems of "de-humanization and alienation in the closed world of capitalism and the bourgeois world" continue to concern Lukacs for the most part. Dehumanization is seen as a trend in actu but also as the result of a process which changes the human being into objects (*res*); from an ontological viewpoint these are devoid of any essence, of any inspiring element. The objectified world is the capitalist world, the capitlist system of the production of goods. For Lukacs dehumanization is equal to what Hegel had in mind with the phenomenon of alienation and what Marx meant by fetish with goods.

"History and Class Awareness" as well as the work entitled "Marxism and Philosophy" by K. Korsch, which also appeared in 1923, through the entire demonstration undertaken are an ardent plea for creatively assuming the vein of Hegelian-Marxist dialectics and for establishing the problems of subjectivity with full rights in the area of Marxist philosophy, without neglecting or exaggerating the dialectical relationship with the objective factors of the historical process. The fact that both Lukacs and Korsch in a short time became the targets of concentrated attacks coming from the intellectual environments of the Komintern but also from groupings represented by Kautsky and his disciples, with their attitude being labeled a "heresy," show to what extent there had actually taken place an evacuation of dialectics from the field of the theoretical concerns of "orthodox" Marxism. Threatened with excommunication, Lukacs "bowed" and tried to make a self-critical examination of certain assertions in "History and Class Awareness." Some commentators on Lukacs' work interpreted this situation in an excessively critical way, seeking to uncover in Lukacs flexible attitude certain "reserves" which later would be placed in the service of "dogma" (L. Kolakowski). This view, however, seems to me to be much too rigid, not being capable of bringing to light the complexity and meanderings of the formation of Lukacs' thinking while under the effect of so many philosophical incidents and ideological pressures. However, what is above any doubt is the fact that Lukacs did not of good will cede the prerogatives of his faculty to think independently about the entire philosophical problem of Marxism and he never identified to the end the philosophical belief with the imperative of "institutionalized" Marxism of the Stalinist type, viewing canonization of Marxist

theory, in conformity with a claimed infallible understanding of the objective need, expression of dogmatic sufficiency and intolerance.

Returning to "Ontology of Social Existence," it is proper again to stress that this work, far from representing a theoretical structure in itself, in its structure of resistance hides a critical rethinking not only of the bases of ontology included in several big philosophical contributions of this century (neopositivism, existentialism, N. Hartman's philosophy) against the backdrop of a return--on another, higher level, of course--to Hegel and Marx as well as Lukacs' settling up with his own errors and concessions made to Stalin. We think one should remember the considerations of the preface writer for the Romanian edition of the Lukacs "Ontology" (which recently appeared through the care of Political Publishing House), who sees in Lukacs' titanic effort to cut the Gordian knot to one of the key problems of Marxism, the one of the relationship between causality and teleology, an expression of the propensity of the illustrious Marxist philosopher to oppose through his entire rational effort the tutelage exercised by the "absolutized" historical necessity and raised to the rank of supreme instance in the philosophical act: "The basic tendency of 'Ontology' is directed against 'conciliation with reality' (Hegel's "Versohnung mit der Wirklichkeit," which Lukacs always repudiated), seeking to break through all the forms of alienation and dehumanization of human existence."

Between the works of Lukacs' youth and his maturity, undoubtedly there are giant differences, but they do not succeed in blurring the tension of the basic interrogations found from a continually changing perspective, with varying emphases and intensities in all Lukacs' works, regardless of the period in which they were written. The spirit which unifies "The Soul and Forms," "History and Class Awareness," "Ontology" as well as the philosophical reflections before the end of the philosopher is, however, the same, unalterable and irreducible; this spirit breathes an inalienable, irresistible vocation toward taking in all of humanity.

The great philosophical lesson from Lukacs' works lies precisely in the uninterrupted seeking of the ultimate meaning of human existence in all its hypotheses, in discovering and rediscovering, each time with the same existential joy, the truths of it as truths which constitute the human existence and critical reasoning as a part of the human formation.

8071
CSO: 2700/362

ASPIRATIONS, REALITIES OF 'SOCIAL CATHOLICISM'

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 2 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Petru Berar]

[Text] Not long ago, it was 90 years since, on 15 May 1892, Pope Leo XIII published the encyclical entitled "Rerum Novarum" ("New Realities"), counted on to be a true cornerstone of social Catholic doctrine. Significantly, today's Catholic theology has associated it through its meanings and significance with the September 1981 encyclical of Pope John Paul II entitled "Laborem Exercens" ("Through Work"). And, yet, we ask what brings together and what separates these two pontifical documents being discussed in the context of the radicalization and increase in scope of public attention on the political and social problems of today's world. Actually, "Rerum Novarum" was an open apology for capitalism, deliberately and with scientific claims confirming the basic shortcoming of the historic Christian church in general: its adherence to the system of power based on the exploitation and humiliation of the masses. The encyclical states that private ownership, including of material goods, is a natural right of divine origin and demonstrates violence toward socialist ideologies; socialism was declared something foreign to divine will. One later may find that from 1891 up to Vatican Council II (1962-1965) the great Catholic pontiffs wrote their encyclicals and, in general, their social-political concepts in the same sphere of ideas of capitalist apologetics, with the slight variations in arguments or subject being nonessential and depending merely on the various historical contexts and, proceeding from this, various missionary strategies.

Thus, for example, in 1971, in his encyclical entitled "Octogesima Adveniens" ("The 80th Anniversary") dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the appearance of that same "Rerum Novarum," Paul VI affirms at least two new ideas, first the idea that the Roman Catholic church no longer opposes an ideal belonging to the existing social systems but rather seeks to take action within "all existing structures"; second, the pope admits the pluralism of the Catholics' social-political position, understanding by this that these Christians may belong to various political organizations, including those which proclaim socialist aspirations. Somewhat diplomatically, nearly the entire formal truth of the many theses themselves from "Rerum Novarum" are either denied or doubted--in the years of the encyclicals mentioned above, under the pretext that the church's social doctrine is formed within history and, thus, can only be conditioned by

history itself. In order to see why the Catholic doctrinarians who assert that "Rerum Novarum" today has been outdated on many points and that today social Catholicism no longer can subscribe totally to its doctrinal beginnings are correct, in passing we cite several of the concessions made by the encyclicals mentioned to the real social, economic, political and cultural world: recognition of many types of existence of ownership, the need for a dialogue between the social-political forces guided by divergent ideologies, condemnation of the economic inequality between the economically underdeveloped nations and the hyperindustrialized ones, preventing and holding back the course of arming with a view to stopping a new world war.

With these considerations, apparently we have moved from the subject declared. However, it has been a question of fulfilling a necessary condition for understanding the new stage in the evolution of the pontifical social doctrine, whose initiator and leader is John Paul II through his entire theoretical-social activity, but in particular through his encyclicals: "Redemptor Hominis" ("Savior of Man") of March 1979 and "Laborem Exercens" ("Through Work") of September 1981.

John Paul II considers and continually states, both in his encyclicals as well as various speeches, that in general and particularly with regard to social-political ideology, he is the continuer of Vatican Council II, from where we have the ambition to unite in his pontifical name the names of his predecessors, who, although in religious spirit and significance, still were great reformers within modern Catholicism. Just how true this is remains to be seen in the future but his first steps in what could be called social Catholicism have been ambiguous. For example, the leit motif of the encyclical "Redemptor Hominis" is "the mystery of salvation," a path by which the current pontiff seems to try to desocialize the consequences of Vatican Council II (1962-1965) by favoring a theological anthropology (man's philosophical science).

There is a gulf between the abstractly theological theses of his first encyclicals and his actual activity, but it seems that through "Laborem Exercens" this pope conscientiously has attempted to extend the destiny of social Catholicism and, perhaps, even to have it vie with "Rerum Novarum," however, of course, along the line of the same ideological interests. For a start, what is certain is that in this encyclical the present pope has directly entered the channels of the social-political and economic problems of the modern day.

In what way is John Paul II in debt to the previous popes, along the line of what becomes the inspiration for social Catholicism and where does his theoretical originality lie in this direction of thought? It seems that this time, too—now, however, with the arguments of privat social sciences interpreted apologetically—particularly in relationship to the predecessors whose pontifical name he bears, John Paul II tries to strengthen the authority of the Christian church over the world, particularly to give new impetus and if he can even a brilliance to the meaning of mentor and judge which belongs to primarily the Roman Catholic church traditionally.

John Paul II is aware that the world's social-political progress cannot be cancelled out or passed over in silence. At the same time, as the universal judge with divine duties and rights—a quality which the popes always have given

themselves--this pope mainly feels that there are two main "disciples" which he must criticize and "guide" spiritually: capitalism and socialism. However, many observers have asked why the so-called "third world," with its multiple specific problems, does not concern the present pope hardly at all. For example, it is true that the present pope criticizes socialism and, it seems, more insistently than his immediate predecessors, but, even through this criticism, he no longer denies the existence and historical legitimacy of the socialist society but merely proposes a theological version for improving it. Which represents a lot, a true "change" in the theoretical structure of social Catholicism from Leo XIII forward.

In order to set himself up as the impartial judge of the modern world, John Paul II feels that it would be of great help to analyze the society of today by using the categories of the particular social sciences, particularly political economics and politology. However, inherently, his goal, which he does not deduce from the results, since it is proposed before the analysis since it proceeds from theology, becomes the cause and means for personally and not impartially using the objective data of modern social realities. For example, the pope maintains that by nature there is no opposition between work and capital, nor should there be. However, no matter how sophisticated this theory of his is, he ends by maintaining with new arguments the right to the defended ownership by his predecessors as well. Actually he writes in his last encyclical: "The so desired multiple reforms which take into consideration man's rights cannot be achieved by a priori eliminating private ownership of the means of production." This theory offers the pope, at least on the surface, the opportunity to maintain that the opposition between work and capital is not forever and, thus, the conclusion that Marxist political economics is false at its foundation. In reality, however, Marxist ideas are falsified in this reasoning since, according to Marx, the opposition mentioned between work and capital is not forever nor is it the product of socialist theory but, rather, the result of separating the worker from the means of production which accompany the economic system of capitalism.

One cannot say that the pope has not discovered the pulse of our times. Whereas Leo XIII mainly was concerned with confirming the social-political and economic limits of the workers (while sometimes he also criticizes the ideas of the liberal bourgeoisie!), John Paul II radically changes his tactics: he does not condemn social-political progress theoretically and in itself in its nonreligious meanings, but verbally he places himself, not just apparently, in the front of current social-political progress, later to state in the end that such a true progress could be achieved merely in a religious spirit and on the shirttails of the great pontiffs. In this encyclical all the problems of ultramodern technology, the scarce division of goods among individuals and nations, the furious arming by some countries, the destruction of nature by pollution from the super-industrialized states concern the present pope, but the solutions for resolving these difficulties of the modern world cannot be the prerogative of Catholic theology. The fact that the pope condemns these social evils is a positive one, but the fact that through these propaganda activities he in particular is seeking the glory of the Roman Catholic church is proven to actually be a new theological strategy.

One can say that the new theses of social Catholicism, particularly the ones which originate in John Paul II's encyclicals, should not be rejected matter of factly, obtusely, since millions of workers throughout the world, Christian and, in particular, Catholic, often express their message and will with revolutionary content under the influence of their religious faith. In addition, the revolutionary and progressive forces everywhere, even without having any attachment to any religion, salute the positive elements of the current ideology of social Catholicism, since only through the unity of workers everywhere can social progress be achieved. At the same time, however, basic questions continue to remain: can the pope really address "all people" equally, without siding with someone or angering somebody? Even this criticism made of capitalism and socialism still is the source of its social-political ineffectiveness.

8071

CSO: 2700/355

END